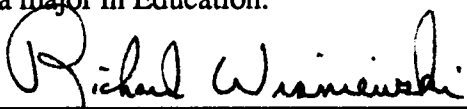
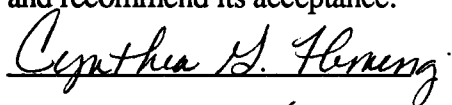


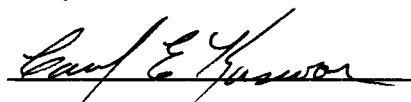
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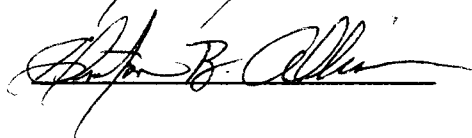
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Richard Wisniewski, Major Professor

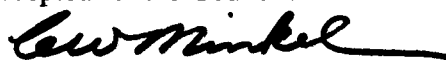
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Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

BLACK DOCTORAL GRADUATES FROM A PREDOMINANTLY
WHITE UNIVERSITY

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Elisabeth S. Wright Harrison

December 1996

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Olakunle, whose name means one who fills the home with honor and wealth. Because he fills our home with honor, humility, wisdom, patience and love; I am a very wealthy woman.

God Bless you my love!

Also to my parents, Early R. and William R. Wright and to the memory of my in-laws, Ekanem Aye and Herbert Olabode Harrison. Thank you for your sacrifices. Your love and wisdom will guide us all the days of our lives.

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There are many others who I count as friends and who provided a supportive community, among them are: Ruby Jewel Hassan, Faye L. Hicks-Townes, Linda Watson Ginn, Vivian Lea Haun, Ruth Queen Smith, Katherine Taylor, Judy Jackson, Ana Lucia De Carval Cruz, LaTarsha Hanna Huff, Yolanda Frazier, Dr. James M. Stewart, and Dr. George Harris. I thank them for their insight, assistance, and prayers. A special thanks to Amos Hatch, Larry Coleman, Charlotte Duncan and John Peters, professors and colleagues who helped to make this academic experience richer. Thanks to my family, my mother, my father and my four brothers and sisters-in-law who have all been a tremendous blessing to me. Their unwavering support and unconditional love has done much to sustain me. I thank my church family at the College Hill Seventh-day Adventist Church for being a shelter in the times of the storms. God bless them all!

As this study indicates, the African American pursuing the doctorate never does it for self alone. To this finding, I am no exception. I place at the feet of my ancestors both free and slave, both African born and American born, the fruits of their labors as they have been realized in my life. I hope that I have brought them honor and pray that their souls continue to rest in perfect peace.

To all of the participants of this study, I thank each one for sharing a piece of themselves and trusting me to represent their experiences in what I hope has been an

acceptable manner. Most of all, I thank each one for accepting their place as role models. The accomplishments in the lives of those Black doctoral graduates who are no longer with us, many of whom died too young, serve as a testimony of the need to stay on course and to fight a good fight. May their souls continue to rest in perfect peace.

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ABSTRACT

Understanding the experiences of Black scholars at predominantly White colleges and universities is essential as mainstream American institutions of higher education seek to increase minority populations on their campuses. This study examined the educational experiences of Black doctoral graduates who were awarded doctoral degrees at a predominantly White university. The study addressed their race related experiences, the strategies they employed to successfully complete their doctorates and the institutional practices that helped or hindered their success. In addition, their thoughts on how well their undergraduate educational experiences prepared them for graduate school as well as the professional goals they pursued after graduation were examined.

Data were collected using questionnaires and interviews. Influenced by phenomenological methodology, the data were analyzed by examining text and identifying prominent themes. The findings revealed that race related difficulties were experienced by approximately one-third of the graduates. Assumptions held by some Whites that Black people are intellectually inferior and have been given handouts by the larger society were evident in some of the reported incidents. Race related difficulties were manifested in unfair treatment, underestimation of abilities, denial of opportunities, exclusion and insults.

The primary strategies used by doctoral students in completing the process included a strong sense of self and of connectedness. The strong sense of self included determination and a proactive mindset about racial issues. Connectedness included spirituality, relationships with others and an acknowledgment of their place in the history of the Black struggle as well as the influence of their accomplishments on future generations.

The findings indicate that a larger Black population is needed in order for Black graduate students to truly share their experiences and unique concerns. While the university offers financial and professional development support for Black graduate students, it has fallen short in the area of retention.

In evaluating the impact of their undergraduate training, those who attended predominantly Black undergraduate institutions and those who attended predominantly White institutions ranked their academic preparation comparably. Though participants reported that the White and Black institutions prepared them socially and psychologically for graduate school, the Black schools provided greater opportunities for social and psychological support. Those who attended Black institutions were also relieved of the burden of racism which 25% of those who attended White schools reported as having experienced.

The graduates have largely pursued career goals in academe in either teaching or administrative capacities. Three-fourths of those in institutions of higher education work at predominantly White colleges and universities.

Gender related and generational differences were found in their memories of the university, the types of difficulties experienced, and the incidence of racism. While race related difficulties were experienced by approximately one-third of the population, these difficulties did not characterize their overall graduate school experiences. Less than 10% of those who reported race related difficulties reported negative memories of the university.

The graduates came to the university expecting that, for some Whites, their presence would be a problem. In the face of racial difficulties, the graduates refused to allow the negative actions of a few to impede their progress or to characterize their experiences at the university.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Understanding the experiences of Black scholars at predominantly White colleges and universities (PWCUs) is essential as mainstream American institutions of higher education seek to increase minority populations on their campuses. Justiz (1994) reported that Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics number 61 million or 25 percent of the population, and the growth rate for these groups is increasing. With the virtual "browning" of America and the country's need to utilize all of its populations, institutions of higher learning will likely expend greater efforts to attract and retain minority students and faculty.

There is growing concern, however, for the paucity of Black professors as well as Black graduate students in the "pipeline" leading to such positions (Dorsey, 1990). There were fewer Blacks in faculty positions in 1985 than there were in 1977, and Black faculty representation on predominantly White campuses was only 1.8 percent (Green, 1989). While the number of Blacks in faculty positions increased from 1985 to 1991 (Green, 1989; Journal, 1995), Smith (1994) estimated that "When faculty at historically Black institutions are factored out less than one percent [of] Black faculty are present in predominantly White institutions" (p. 187). The figures for African American doctoral candidates are also cause for concern. Though U.S. minorities increased their share of doctorates during the period from 1976 to 1991 to slightly over 10% of the doctorates awarded to U.S. citizens, the proportion of African Americans earning the doctorate actually declined (Ries and Thurgood, 1993). As the need for more African American graduate students and professors is recognized and strategies developed for recruiting and retaining students and professors of color on predominantly White campuses, insights into their experiences at PWCUs is crucial to

understanding how institutional climate and culture contribute to and/or hinder their success. It is also important to recognize the strategies African American scholars employ in realizing some level of success in White academe.

The experiences of notable Black scholars are perhaps best illustrated in the biographical accounts of historical scholarly figures in African American history. The biographies of W.E.B. Dubois, Zora Neale Hurston, Pauline Murray and Horace Mann Bond, to name a few, provide insights into the plight of Black scholars in America. Their lives reflect the impact of race and gender as these scholars sought outlets for their scholarly endeavors in the first half of the century. The accounts of their lives describe their educational and professional experiences. These works portray their adeptness at maneuvering between Black and White worlds, of coping in the face of discrimination and succeeding in spite of obstacles. They were marginal people, as Willie (1986) explains: "people with experience in both the majority and minority cultures who may rise above the two groups in which they participate or fall between them" (p. 6). Stonequist adds that "the marginal [person] is the key personality in the contact of cultures. It is in his [or her] mind that the cultures come together, conflict, and eventually work out some kind of mutual adjustment and interpenetration" (1961, p. 221).

Examining the educational experiences of Black scholars in America provides a framework for examining this marginal group's experience in mainstream institutions of higher education. The thoughts of those who successfully completed doctoral programs in White academe can provide insights into the dilemmas faced by Black scholars in the latter half of the twentieth century. It is important to note that while the experiences of Black and White scholars may be similar on many levels (Baird, 1974), there are significant differences as a result of unequal access to power and other resources. "The fact that one group is dominant and the other subdominant in terms of

power and authority relationships could make a difference" (Willie, 1986). In light of the possible difference, this study described the coping strategies used by Black graduate students in surviving in a White culture.

The educational experiences of African American scholars also provide insights into the institutional norms and climate which help make up their experiences. This study may serve as a barometer in gauging how far predominantly White American institutions of higher learning have come in creating a climate of acceptance for students of diverse racial backgrounds. The study focused on American born people of African descent along with the experiences of several foreign born Black persons who completed their doctoral degrees between 1959 and 1995 at a large, predominantly White, southeastern, land grant state university.

Purpose

In providing insights into what it means to be a Black scholar in White academe, the study addressed three main areas:

- o The race related experiences of Black scholars in White academe.
- o The strategies employed by Black scholars to successfully complete their doctorates.
- o Those institutional practices that helped or hindered the success of Black scholars in White academe.

The study examined the degree and forms of conflict as well as the coping resources Black scholars employed as they adjusted to the White academic culture. In understanding the meaning of their experiences from the Black scholars' perspectives, the study elicited the scholars' feelings, perceptions and understanding of the majority culture, providing a glimpse into how Black scholars engaged a world perhaps

different from their own, yet one very familiar. Memories of their thoughts, concerns, and feelings were analyzed as they found their way in a social structure that applauded their accomplishments while at times treated them as invisible women and men. In addition, their thoughts on how their undergraduate educational experiences prepared them for graduate school have been examined. This study sought to illuminate barriers Black scholars had to overcome to accomplish their goals as well as factors which contributed to their success. This work provides insights into institutional practices which should be developed or strengthened to ensure positive educational experiences for African American graduate students. Because the nature of doctoral studies tends to highlight academia as one of the viable options in pursuing one's professional goals, the study also examined the professional goals the doctoral graduates pursued after graduation.

African Americans and Graduate Education

Obtaining the doctorate by Black scholars has always been heralded as a major and singular achievement because it marks three important events. First, it represents personal success, working against significant odds such as poverty, racism, and competing pressures to accept lesser career opportunities and training to satisfy more immediate needs. Second, the attainment of the doctorate has symbolized for the African American community in general group attainment within the larger society. Third, a doctoral degree can be viewed as a barometer or index of national strength. (Willie et al., 1991, p. 19)

Education in the lives of African Americans has historically been one of the factors which made freedom real for the freed sons and daughters of slaves. The perceived power and life transformative possibilities that education offered made it an article of faith for African Americans (Thompson, 1986). Education is a fundamental factor in the cultural self-determination of African Americans. This determination, as

Franklin (1984) described it as "a determined effort at self-realization and self-development despite environing opinion" (p. 24). This quest for self-realization manifested itself in the lives of enslaved Blacks, some of whom learned to read and write at the risk of death. Once freed, African Americans set out to acquire formal education. With their lives, their freedom, and their faith as their sole possessions the ex-slaves started their own schools throughout the South (Anderson, 1988). The history of education in the lives of African Americans is replete with stories of a people determined to realize intellectual goals and a level of self sufficiency by way of education.

The establishment of Harvard College in 1636 represents the beginning of America's formal and organized concern with providing higher education for the people of North America on their own continent. Nearly two centuries would pass before an African American would obtain a college degree from an institution of higher learning in the U.S. (Willie et al, 1991). The first African Americans to graduate from American colleges were Edward A. Jones and John Brown Russworm. Both completed their degrees in 1826 at Amherst and Bowdoin colleges respectively. According to W.E.B. Du Bois, before the beginning of the twentieth century only 2,079 Blacks are recorded as having graduated from college (Franklin, 1967).

The first African American to receive the Ph.D. degree was Edward Bouchet in 1876, in physics from Yale University. "With the exception of Yale, Harvard, the University of Wisconsin and a few other universities" (Willie et al., 1991, p. 1), no graduate or professional training was available to Blacks at historically White institutions. Historian John Hope Franklin reports that only 57 doctorates were conferred on Blacks during the decade of the Depression (1930-39) (Blackwell, 1987). It was during that decade that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began its works to gain admissions to graduate and

professional schools for Blacks (Blackwell, 1987). Until the mid-twentieth century, graduate professional education for African Americans was only available in institutions established specifically for African Americans. "No historically Black college offered a doctoral degree [in a discipline in the arts and sciences] before 1954" (Blackwell, 1987, p. 7). "Thus the opportunity for Blacks to obtain doctoral degrees is a phenomenon limited largely to the second half of the twentieth century" (Willie et al, 1991, p. 2).

To understand the accessibility of graduate education for African Americans between 1950 and 1969, Gilford and Snyder (1977) reported that between 1950 and 1954 only 139 African Americans with doctoral degrees were in the labor force. Following the 1954 Brown decision, the number increased to 277. From 1965 to 1969 when federal legislation was enacted allowing Blacks greater access to education, the number of Black holders of doctoral degrees in the work force climbed to 586 (Blackwell, 1987). As a result of the historical patterns of segregation, discrimination, and racism, at no time between 1950 and 1969 "did the number of African American Ph.D.s rise above 1% of all doctorate holders in the labor force" (See Table 1) (Blackwell, 1987, p. 327).

Coinciding with the successful attack on exclusionary barriers, the 1970s witnessed an increase in the absolute numbers and the proportion of doctoral degrees awarded to Blacks. "For instance, the 581 doctorates produced among African Americans in 1973 alone approximated the total number in this category for the combined five-year period of 1965 to 1969" (Blackwell, 1987, p. 327). While the number of African Americans receiving terminal degrees rose from 1973 to 1977, the numbers declined from 1977 to 1989. Ries and Thurgood (1993) reported that African Americans earned 821 doctoral degrees from institutions of higher learning in 1989 in the U.S. compared to 1116 degrees awarded in 1977. This

Table 1

Blacks with Doctoral Degrees in the U.S. Labor Force 1950-1969

Years	Total Ph.D.s in Labor Force	Black Ph.D.s in Labor Force	Percent of Total
1950-54	24,401	139	0.6%
1955-59	28,643	277	1.0%
1960-64	40,526	326	0.8%
1965-69	63,328	586	0.9%

(Gilford and Snyder, 1977)

represents a reduction from 4.3 percent to 3.5 percent of the total number of doctorates earned by U.S. citizens. Although doctorates awarded by American institutions dropped from 25,221 in 1980 to 23,081 six years later, White America still claimed 89.4 percent of the total. The number of African American doctoral recipients dropped from 4.1 percent in 1980 to 3.6 percent in 1986, or 209 doctorates (see Table 2).

In examining degree distribution by field, it has been noted that African Americans are more likely to pursue degrees in education, the social sciences, and psychology and less likely to undertake doctoral studies in mathematics, computer science, physics, chemistry, earth and environmental science, engineering, agricultural sciences, health and medical sciences, and the languages and literature (Blackwell, 1987; Stanley 1990). Such a "maldistribution inevitably leads to the 'ghettoization' of ethnic minorities in higher education whenever they are hired beyond token numbers" (Blackwell, 1988, p. 421).

The response of educational institutions to the Civil Rights movement, in the late 1960s and the early 1970s was successful, at least in the short run. The commitment to increasing educational opportunity for minority groups has lost

Table 2

Number and Percentage of Doctorates Awarded by U.S. Institutions to African Americans 1973 to 1991

Year	Total U.S. Citizens	Black U.S. Citizens	Percent of Total
1973	27,129	581	2.1%
1974	26,827	846	3.1%
1975	27,081	999	3.7%
1976	27,269	1095	4.0%
1977	26,119	1116	4.3%
1978	25,291	1033	4.1%
1979	25,464	1056	4.1%
1980	25,221	1032	4.1%
1981	25,061	1013	4.0%
1982	24,391	1047	4.3%
1983	24,359	922	3.8%
1984	24,027	952	4.0%
1985	23,370	917	3.9%
1986	23,081	823	3.6%
1987	22,993	768	3.3%
1988	23,288	814	3.5%
1989	23,400	821	3.5%
1990	24,886	897	3.6%
1991	24,721	933	3.8%

(Blackwell, 1987, p. 329; Horton and Smith, 1990, p. 555; Ries and Thurgood, 1993, p. 98)

momentum, however. As the nation moves through the 1990s, it is confronted with an underrepresentation of minorities in higher education (Lyons, 1989). In light of an expected shortage of professors by the end of the century, producing more African American Ph.D.s has become a growing issue. The need to produce more minority Ph.D.s will perhaps provide a rare chance for African Americans and other ethnic minority groups to enter academia in large numbers (Collison, 1988). As some institutions of higher learning look for methods of recruiting and retaining African American scholars in academia, those Blacks who have been through Ph.D. programs can serve as a crucial link in understanding the issues Black students face in predominantly White institutions.

The African American Intellectual

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the best of this race,... The Talented Tenth rises and pulls all that are worth the saving up to their vanguard ground.
W.E.B Dubois, 1903

African American intellectuals include learned men and women from all walks of life and whose education has taken many forms. The intellectuals in this study are those who have completed doctoral degrees in various disciplines and are actively engaged in the advancement of knowledge in institutions of education, government service, and business and industry.

The high degree of faith placed in the African American intellectual to uplift the masses of the poor and undereducated is perhaps best articulated in W.E.B. Du Bois' concept of the Talented Tenth. Du Bois felt that the intellectually best and brightest of

the race should receive a liberal education. It would be from the ranks of the learned persons that the leaders of the race would emerge. The leadership, he postulated, would arise from increased numbers of Blacks in the professional fields such as religion, education, medicine, law, and business, to name a few. As his life experiences informed his faith in the talented tenth, Du Bois changed his position late in his life. He stated that the real, unselfish and clear-sighted leadership would rise from the working classes, those folks "who know life in its bitter struggle" (Du Bois, 1993, p. 65).

In 1900, Du Bois postulated that the college educated Black ought to be the group leader, the man or woman who sets the ideal of the community where he or she lives, directs its thoughts and leads its social movements (Franklin, 1984). The idea of the intellectually astute leading the masses is still valid as the African American intellectual is often looked to by mainstream American society as the voice of the Black masses. Several Black scholars have expressed that non-Blacks viewed them as the voice of the Black race whenever they articulated their views or experiences. The feeling, as Mitchell (1982) explains, is that "their success, their failure, their smallest actions are seen not merely as their personal attainments, but as representative of all minority people" (p. 34).

African American intellectuals have withstood close scrutiny. Even within their own ranks, their allegiance to the cause of uplifting the race has been questioned, their alleged detachment from the Black community has been cited, their methods of dealing with the race question have been criticized, their thoughts and actions relative to their socioeconomic standing have been analyzed, and their standing as leaders relative to historical Black scholars has been compared (West, 1993; Cruse, 1967; Woodson 1990; Frazier, 1962). But outside of intellectual circles, as John Hope

Franklin points out, the problem of the scholar of any ethnic group must be considered within the context of American society's view of scholars. He explains:

In America the scholar's role in the community and the nation has always been limited. Indeed, his role has been rather carefully defined by the history of the country. Questions have been raised about the effective use of the scholar in a society whose fundamental preoccupation has been with problems that have had little or nothing to do with the life of the mind. Intellectual prowess and mental acumen, it was argued almost from the beginning, could make no substantial contribution to the tasks of clearing the forest, cutting pathways to the frontier, and making a living in the wilderness. (Franklin, 1963, p. 62)

The early twentieth century debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois on industrial education vs liberal education for Black Americans brought into question the practicality of pursuing the life of the mind in the wake of immediate physical and social need. Booker T. Washington advocated the training of African Americans in manual labor skills as a means to improve the material quality of the exslaves' lives, to make them upwardly mobile and better accepted by White society (Jones, 1993). In writing about Booker T. Washington's politics, W.E.B. Du Bois explains:

so thoroughly did he learn the speech and thought of triumphant commercialism, and the ideals of material prosperity, that the picture of the lone Black boy poring over the French grammar amid the weeds and dirt of a neglected home soon seemed to him the acme of absurdities. One wonders what Socrates and St. Francis of Assisi would say to this. (DuBois, 1982, p. 81)

W.E.B. Du Bois proposed that the intellectually best and brightest of the Black race should receive a liberal education, an education which would allow them to hone their intellectual skills and thus become the leaders of the Black race. This college educated intelligentsia could assure the betterment of the Black race and ensure the protection of its civil rights (Jones, 1993).

In noting the economic and social status of Blacks from 1870 to 1960, Bond (1972) concluded that the "soil was not propitious for the growth of a scholarly class" (p. 14). He added that the African Americans who had the skills and capacity to engage in scholarly pursuits

felt the pressure of other demands so urgent as to preclude devotion to the scholarly life. Black scholars were frequently called upon to be race leaders, or in educational circles, were such rarity as to be drawn from research and study to administrative responsibilities. (Bond, 1972, p. 14)

In recent times the quality of Black scholars has been questioned. In response to the question "Why hasn't America produced intellectuals of the caliber of W.E.B. Du Bois, Anna Cooper, E. Franklin Frazier, Oliver Cox, and Ralph Ellison in the past few decades?" (West, 1993, p. 35). West explains that

Black intellectuals are affected by the same processes as other American intellectuals, such as the professionalization and specialization of knowledge, the bureaucratization of the academy, the proliferation of arcane jargon in the various disciplines, and the marginalization of humanistic studies. Yet the quality of Black intellectual work has suffered more so than that of others. (p. 41)

West further explains that

one of the basic reasons is that the academic system of rewards and status, prestige and influence, puts a premium on those few Black scholars who imitate the dominant paradigms elevated by fashionable Northeastern seaboard institutions of higher learning. This system not only demoralizes aspiring careerists stuck in the provinces far from the exciting metropolis, it also stifles intellectual creativity, especially among those for whom the dominant paradigms are problematic. (p. 41)

The Black intellectual in American society is faced with numerous expectations at many levels. Black scholars carry a historical legacy that has an impact on the way they engage their work. As John Hope Franklin states:

The Black scholar must perform a dual role--practicing scholarship that adheres to the highest standards in the field, and advocating justice and equality. This dual approach will enable the Black academician to be heard as a scholar and to survive as a human being. (Willie, 1986, p. 21)

In considering the goals of being heard as a scholar and surviving as a human being within the context of White academe, one must consider the challenges faced by the Black scholar in trying to establish his or her voice as well as of advocating justice and equality. A number of Black professors have chosen to face the challenges at White colleges and universities, an option virtually unavailable to Black scholars in the first half of the century.

The history of Black scholars in White academe is not extensive, however. The presence of the Black scholar is a relatively new phenomenon on predominantly White campuses. Before World War II, by law and by tradition Black scholars were excluded from White academe. Prior to the Civil Rights Movement, they were largely

confined to Black campuses. The few Black scholars who were accepted as faculty at White colleges or universities were anomalies, as Fleming reports:

In the 1850s Charles L. Reason became professor of arts and letters at New York Central College, a school founded by abolitionists. Later exceptions were clearly "superstars." A Black Jesuit priest, Father Patrick Healey, who rose from instructor to become president of Georgetown university in 1873, is one example. On the other hand, W.E.B. Du Bois, the internationally acclaimed Black scholar, held a position as assistant instructor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania from 1896-1897, but was never offered a permanent post there or any other White college or university. When Blacks did begin to receive faculty status in the 20th century, recognition was belated, or dependent upon special funding. William A. Hinton began as an instructor at Harvard in 1918. He spent 26 years at the rank of instructor and three as lecturer before finally being appointed professor in 1949 - the year before he retired. Allison Davis was appointed to a full-time position at the University of Chicago in 1942, partly as a result of financial support to the university from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Fleming's study (as cited in Exum, 1983, p. 394-395)

By 1950, only 72 of 1,051 PWCUs surveyed employed Black faculty, and many of these were visiting appointments for a term, or at most a year (Exum, 1983). By 1958, only 200 Blacks were teaching in PWCUs on a regular full-time basis. By 1961 the number had risen to 300 (Exum, 1983). As a result of the Civil Rights Movement the Black student population on White campuses increased. Finding a dearth of role models on campus, they protested and called for more Black faculty (Fleming, 1984). Though the executive order designed to ensure employment

opportunities without regard to race, color, religion or national origin was issued in 1965, it was not until 1971 "that many colleges and universities were required to began affirmative action programs" (Fleming et al., 1978, p. 134). Fleming et al., reports: "Some institutions which were not covered by the provisions of the order have also voluntarily incorporated affirmative action into their employment procedures" (p. 134).

It was in response to student protests and affirmative action aims that professional appointments increased for Blacks in White academe (Sutherland, 1990). But between 1965 and 1975, the proportion of Blacks as faculty in White colleges and universities did not increase significantly (Exum, 1983); and between 1975 and 1983 Blacks were the only minority to experience both a decline in absolute numbers and a percentage loss in the total number of faculty positions in the United States. Blackwell's study (as cited in Kneller, 1988-89, p. 49).

Exum (1983) reported that Blacks represented less than 5 percent of the total faculty and from two-thirds to three-fourths of Black faculty remain concentrated in historically Black colleges and universities. "They are also less likely to be employed in the most prestigious colleges and universities" (p. 384). As the mainstream American institutions of higher education look to increase minority faculty, "the dearth of available Black academic talent is a direct consequence of their failure to produce such talent" (Prestage, 1979, p. 769). The table on page 8 indicates that this statement is even more appropriate in the 1990's.

While the under-representation of minorities on college campuses reveals one of the cultural legacies of racism, Pruitt & Issac (1985) make it clear that "...this under-representation is not solely the result of malevolent discrimination. Yet, segregation and discrimination gave birth to the situation, and their vestiges make under-representation difficult to eradicate" (p. 526). The present and future

ramifications of exclusionary practices leaves one third of America's population facing a future filled with unrealized potential. The results of this study may serve to provide some insight into the hindrances and obstacles that African Americans face in predominantly White colleges and universities and to shed light on efforts that can be taken to ensure a favorable climate for aspiring minority graduate students.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The experiences of Black scholars prior to the 1960s are perhaps best portrayed in the biographical accounts of historical scholarly figures. The lives of W.E.B. Du Bois, Horace Mann Bond, Pauline Murray, and Zora Neale Hurston are a few examples of biographical works that illustrate the experiences of Black scholars in White academe in the first half of the twentieth century. America's racial climate made the lives and experiences of these scholars the exception rather than the rule as White institutions of higher learning were virtually closed to people of African descent.

With the 1954 Brown decision, the Supreme Court set aside the separate but equal doctrine concerning public schools (Britts, 1975). Though this major legal barrier barring people of color from attending public mainstream institutions of learning was outlawed, the law could not at once reverse tradition. African Americans continued to face barriers in obtaining access to institutions of learning. With the 1960s came a changing socio-political tide in America. As a result of the Civil Rights Movement, a mass entrance of Black students into White campuses occurred in the 1960s and early 1970s. Due to the response of educational institutions to student protest and affirmative action goals, professional appointments increased for Blacks in White academe (Sutherland, 1990).

With the growing wave of political conservatism in the late 1970s and the worsening economic conditions, the White institutions' commitment to greater educational access for minority groups began to wane. As recruitment efforts lessened

and special admissions programs were attacked, the trend of declining enrollments and high attrition among Black students at predominantly White colleges and universities (PWCUs) caused growing concerns for those committed to increasing the minority presence on White campuses (Astin, 1982; Hall and Allen, 1982). In the 1980s the gap in higher education participation rates between Whites and Blacks continued to grow and attrition rates for Black students continued to be a problem (Green, 1989). The issues of declining enrollments and high attrition remain a factor for Black students in the 1990s. In light of these trends, this review of the literature is essentially in chronological order.

Undergraduate Education 1960s-1970s

Black Students on White Campuses

With growing numbers of African Americans on White campuses during the 1960s and early 1970s, a number of scholarly works examining the status of African Americans on White campuses appeared. Focused primarily on undergraduate experiences, many of these studies examine Black student characteristics as well as dominant issues for African American students trying to cope in a White institutional culture.

As part of a study developed by the National Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students, Clark and Plotkin (1963) examined the progress and adjustment of 1,519 Black students who attended PWCUs. The students entered the PWCUs in the years 1952 to 1956. After an investigation of pre-college information, college performance, and post college adjustment involving 509 students, Clark and Plotkin reported that most of the students judged their college experiences favorably. There were, however, indications that Blacks at PWCUs faced some racial problems and

pressures. Dating opportunities emerged as a major dissatisfaction. It seemed that race was a primary factor in determining dating patterns and other social events. The authors also reported that "the least successful academic group is less enthusiastic about the favorable aspects of college than the better academic groups and readier to report instances of discrimination" (Clark and Plotkin, 1963, p. 9).

A 1970 study by Centra compared the responses of 249 Black upperclassmen and 249 White students from 83 PWCUs on the Questionnaire on Student and College Characteristics. Centra found differences between Black and White students in the areas of community and family background, financial support, plans for graduate study, and involvement in college activities. Centra found that the Black students were twice as likely as Whites to have grown up in a city and were more than twice as likely to have fathers who were unskilled or semiskilled workers. Centra also found that Blacks were more likely to need and receive financial aid and to be employed than Whites. More Black students (82 percent) than White students (74 percent) planned to attend graduate school. Though White students were more involved in organized college activities that centered on campus, Black students were more involved in activities that focused on improving the greater society, in particular, improving the position and condition of Black Americans (Centra, 1970).

In an essay that examines the characteristics of Black students based on a review of the literature, Kendricks (1971) cites general characteristics of minority students attending PWCUs. Kendricks found that

(a) minority students, like majority students, will tend to select themselves into distinctive social groups on college campuses, according to the nature of the college; (b) the lives of minority students on college campuses are now and will continue to be dominated by the need for money; (c) minority students have to work hard in their academic programs and survive at least through the

freshman year in most places; (d) on every campus the minority student must struggle to find a relevant environment (Kendricks, 1971, pp. 46-48).

In trying to determine what educationally relevant differences exist between groups of Black college students who entered historically Black colleges and those who entered traditionally White institutions, a 1970 study by Harnett examined the two groups. In examining the responses of 3104 students at 9 Black colleges and 323 Black students at 21 White colleges on the College Student Questionnaire, Harnett found that Black students entering predominantly White institutions, as compared to those entering Black institutions, were more independent, liberal, and concerned with social injustice. Harnett also found that Black students on White campuses had less interest in college as a means of vocational preparation, were more likely to plan to attend graduate school, and generally, came from a higher socioeconomic background than those Black students who attended Black institutions (Harnett, 1970).

A 1972 study by Willie and McCord, examined the issues confronting Blacks on White campuses from the perspectives of the Black students. Through interviews, surveys, observation, and examination of documents and records, the researchers examined the actions, words, and thoughts of Black students on four predominantly White campuses in the state of New York. The researchers found that racism was a primary cause for stress. Racism was also the primary reason that Black students desired separatism in various aspects of campus life. In trying to cope with racial stress, the authors identified cooperation, withdrawal, aggression, or acting out as adaptive responses exhibited by the students in trying to cope in a White institutional environment (Willie and McCord, 1972).

Alienation is another issue for African Americans in majority White colleges. In a study by Burbach & Thompson (1971) an alienation scale was mailed to 725

entering freshman of a northeastern urban university. The participants included all 55 Puerto Ricans enrolled in the school and a random sample of 145 Blacks and 525 Whites. Black students attained the highest mean scores on the scales of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation with the subscale of social isolation being significantly higher than other groups. The data suggest that Black freshmen experience a greater sense of purposelessness (the loss of socialized values and the absence of values that might give purpose to life), are confronted with more contradictory normative patterns, and feel less in control of their lives than do White freshmen (Burbach & Thompson, 1971).

Offering a different interpretation of the experiences of Black students on White campuses in a 1972 study, Hedegard found that Black students experienced college (and themselves) in widely differing ways. He adds:

Even in their experiencing "being Black," in experiencing the attitudes of Whites toward them, and in their perceptions of the posture and intentions of the university in its possible dealings with Blacks, there is virtually a full spectrum of possible opinions and response among Black students. (p. 48)

Hedegard reported that the most frequent Black experience of fellow White students is that they are ignorant of, and indifferent to, the problems and experiences of Blacks. A less frequent reaction accused White students of outright bigotry and prejudice. An even smaller number of Black students had very different experiences, and report that the White students with whom they had significant contact were tolerant and understanding (Hedegard, 1972). The spread was similar in examining the Black students' reactions to contact with White faculty.

The feelings of social isolation, abandonment and bias that characterize the undergraduate experience are also factors in the Black graduate student experience.

The experiences of African American graduate students in light of the experiences of all graduate students, regardless of race, add yet another dimension to understanding the Black experience in White academe.

Graduate Education 1960s-1970s

Generalized Graduate Education Issues

The literature of the 1960s and 1970s examining the graduate school experience looks at the characteristics of graduate students and the difficulties of the graduate school process. The difficulties of the process are related to various aspects of socialization, time to degree completion and financial concerns. A 1963 study by Heard looked specifically at the problem of timely degree completion, for graduate students. Covering 16 disciplines in 22 institutions in 16 Southern states, the study examined why Ph.D. programs are as long as they are. Questionnaires were mailed to 2,709 persons having completed their doctoral degrees between 1950 and 1958. In examining the responses on 1,929 returned questionnaires, the author focused on why some students take longer than others to complete the doctorate. The amount of time the students devoted to uninterrupted full-time study and what happened while the students were actually engaged in graduate studies were the broad factors examined. The author found three factors of special importance in slowing the process. The first was students' lack of clarity of purpose before and after entering doctoral programs. The second was "lack of coordination and continuity in the content of degree programs." The third was the "lack of financial help that does not interfere with progress toward the degree" (p. 7).

A 1976 study by Lozoff described the personality characteristics and the effects of graduate school on the development of graduate students. Using data collected

from 609 questionnaires and 102 interviews, the author examined the progress and difficulties of students in the graduate school process. She explained that the university constitutes "a time consuming, sometimes stressful, sometimes exciting atmosphere of genteel poverty" (p. 142). The students in her study were men and women, most of whom were between the ages of 22 and 29. She explained that young adults in their twenties and early thirties are still engaged in the clarification of identity and achievement of intimacy. As these young adults seek autonomy in their lives, the graduate school experience sometimes prolongs the process. Factors that complicate movement toward autonomy include insufficient time and energy for intimacy and friends, feelings of helplessness in the face of arbitrary actions of professors and departments, and inadequate funds (Lozoff, 1976, p. 142).

In examining the characteristics of graduate students, Lozoff explained that most graduate students have a sense of transitional identity: "Many view their graduate experience as a 'rite of passage' - that is, an ordeal that weeds out those unable to master special skills and knowledge, tolerate discipline, and persist despite redress" (p. 143). Many felt the rewards were worth the stress and delayed gratification. The students valued personal freedom, meaningful relationships, and financial security. In addition they shared an interest in the "new and experimental and a questioning and skeptical attitude" (p. 143).

In regard to relationships, one-third of the students in the study identified loneliness as a factor of their graduate school experience. Fewer older students, however, reported loneliness than did younger persons. In examining relationships with partners, some married couples found that the graduate school experience enriched relationships through providing support and shared knowledge, especially when both spouses are occupied with school related tasks. About 5 percent of the

population was divorced and several people cited neglecting their spouses because of academic pressures as the cause.

In examining difficulties that threaten autonomy, Lozoff (1976) identified feelings of helplessness associated with the pressure of constant evaluation, as well as working with professors who are indifferent, ineffectual, or hostile. Though most of the students of the study lived below the poverty level, 41 percent lived within the constraints of their budgets and felt that their finances were adequate (Lozoff, 1976).

Lozoff (1976) suggests that graduate departments can enhance students' personal and professional development by recognizing and addressing three important developmental tasks. The tasks are 1) clarification of occupational goals and development of occupational identity, 2) achievement of good interpersonal relations, and 3) furthering a sense of autonomy. The results of this study were not examined by race.

Gender Issues in Graduate Education

As the women's movement created a heightened sensitivity to women's issues, the literature of the 1970s began to examine the educational experiences of women in the context of male oriented institutions. Perhaps a reflection of lessened sensitivity to the issues confronting Black women or the fact that there were so few Black women graduate students, race was not applied in the analyses of the studies examined.

In a quantitative study investigating factors underlying gender discrimination against women doctoral students, Holmstrom and Holmstrom (1974) analyzed the survey responses of 13,099 graduate students, 10,282 men and 2,817 women from 153 universities. One hundred and four independent variables were examined including demographics, educational and financial variables, and motivational and attitudinal measures. The authors focused on "Emotional strain as a deterrent to

completion of graduate work," "Consideration of withdrawal from graduate school," "Faculty attitudes toward women, "General faculty availability," and "Faculty availability for personal advice."

The five variables found to be significant predictors of emotional strain for men and women were: Pressure from spouse, inability to do academic work, thoughts of quitting graduate school, lack of interest, and recognition by professors. In examining emotional strain as a deterrent, the authors found that "35% of the women and 28% of the men agreed that too much emotional strain might interfere with completion of graduate work" (p. 4). Pressure from their spouse was a more powerful predictor of emotional strain for men.

Though men and women identified the importance of faculty recognition, professors who did not take women seriously contributed significantly to the emotional strain felt by the women. Approximately half of the women and two-fifths of the men had at some point considered withdrawing from their programs. Lack of interest and emotional strain were identified as strong predictors of doubts about continuing their studies. Family responsibilities for men presented a problem while there was "no such variable associated with doubts about graduate school completion for women" (p. 6). Women who agreed that the professors did not take women students seriously, however, were more likely to have considered withdrawing from school.

In examining faculty attitudes toward women, Holmstrom and Holmstrom (1974) found that "one-fifth of the men and 31% of the women graduate students agreed that the professors in their departments did not take women graduate students seriously" (p. 7). Women in the traditionally "female" disciplines such as education and library science were less likely to perceive this negative attitude on the part of professors. Men in fields such as engineering were more likely to indicate that some

male professors did not take women graduate students seriously. Women who indicated that professors did not take them seriously tended to be less satisfied with their education and the institution. They also considered their fields too research-oriented.

Sixty-seven percent of the men and 63 percent of the women rated faculty availability as good or excellent. The authors found that students who were satisfied with faculty availability tended to see professors outside of the classroom as needed, received personal advice and received help from faculty in their job searches. Women who were satisfied with their institution and felt that their courses were relevant to their future occupations tended to be satisfied with faculty availability.

In examining faculty availability for personal advice, Holmstrom and Holmstrom found that 48 percent of men and 43 percent of women doctoral students found at least one faculty member to whom they could go for personal advice. These students generally had a high rate of interaction with professors. There were other factors for women, however, related to personal interaction with faculty. Women had to have proven academic competence. The authors reported that the women identified themselves among the most competent students in their departments. "They had authored or co-authored a published article" (p. 16). The length of time women spent in an institution was also a factor related to their personal interaction with faculty. Women who had personal contact with faculty were more likely to attend the institution where they obtained their undergraduates degrees.

The results of the study showed that faculty attitudes toward students and their availability are important factors in students' satisfaction and performance. It appeared that women who had personal contact with faculty must have qualifications different than those of men. Women must demonstrate academic competence proven by publications or must have longevity at the university. Holmstrom and Holmstrom

wrote: "The results here reveal a differential interaction rate with faculty which favors men" (p. 17).

To understand what some women have experienced in graduate school, Adler (1976) examined the experiences of women and men graduate students. Responses on 700 questionnaires as well as the literature on gender differences and professional women, and graduate education were examined. Adler examined the men and women's paths to graduate school and their experiences once they were there. Adler found that in spite of comparable or stronger academic records for incoming women graduate students, women more often than men drop out of graduate school. Differential treatment and "the nature and extent of conflicts experienced between personal and professional life" are among the reasons for higher dropout rates among women (p. 205). In examining their experiences in graduate school, Adler found that in spite of the good intentions of some faculty and administrators, women encounter discrimination in their graduate training both at the institutional and individual levels. Among the forms of institutional discrimination are the subtle forms that stem from the nature of the academic world. It is often a world in which "the prescribed academic style is often unfamiliar and incongruent with women's styles" (p. 207). She explains that women as well as men may be forced to leave an institution or adopt a style that fits the "competitive, egocentric, entrepreneurial and stereotypically masculine culture" of the university. Roby's study (as cited in Adler, 1976, p. 207)

Adler also found a higher percentage of women experienced individual discrimination usually in their encounters with male faculty. Men and women reported more frequent instances of discrimination against women than any of the other groups including: White, gay, older students, or ethnic minorities (Adler, 1976). Women reported, among other things, incidents of inappropriate remarks by male faculty and receiving under-attention during class meetings. Over-attention was another problem.

Women sometimes received "respectful attention sometimes bordering on amazement that a woman could be speaking about a technical topic"(p. 209).

Adler (1976) reported that the conflict of personal and professional life may contribute to the stress experienced by women in graduate school and may influence the likelihood of their completing school. The conflicts include demands on time and the contradictory expectations of sex role and professional role for women. Though men and women experienced difficulties associated with time demands, the women appeared to have more demands on their time that could interfere with academic work. Many of the women were mothers and wives, and the "role expectations that are most contradictory to the professional role are those relating to marriage and family, and women have to frequently choose between the two" (p. 211).

Black Graduate Students on White Campuses

As mass entrance of Black students into White campuses occurred in the 1960s and early 1970s, several studies conducted during the 1970s examined the African American graduate student experience. Like the studies focusing on the undergraduate experience, these studies examined student characteristics in general as well as coping issues for African American graduate students in a White institutional climate. Regarding issues of social isolation, the experience of socialization for many Black graduate students has not been an easy one. In an empirical study examining the graduate school experience, Duncan (1976) reported that minority graduate students responded "rarely" or "never" in significantly higher numbers than nonminority students when asked about socializing with other graduate students in their departments. When asked about engaging in dialogue about their field in social settings, other intellectual interests, and non-academic matters, the results were the same. Duncan also reported that minority students more frequently reported feeling

"lonely," "depressed," and "close to tears." When asked "How much time do you spend with people unaffiliated with the university during the year, other than family," 53 percent of the minorities responded "very much" or "much time," compared to 32 percent of nonminority respondents (Duncan, 1976). Minority students often sought comfort from those who cannot provide direct feedback on professional and educational ability (e.g., friends, family, people outside of the university). When compared to nonminorities, minority students had smaller percentages of mentor/mentee relationships, received less oral feedback, and reported spending less time with faculty; they had fewer opportunities to speak with professors about the field, intellectual interests, and other academic matters (Duncan 1976).

Baird sought to discern the nature of graduate school experiences for both Blacks and Whites. In examining the responses on a 225-item questionnaire completed by approximately 3000 White graduate students and approximately 130 Black graduate students, Baird found that both races described their experiences similarly. "Of the 141 pertinent questions, Blacks and Whites responses differed on only 22, or not quite 16 percent" (p. 1). Some important differences, however, did emerge. There were marked variations in the fields of study with education, the social sciences and social work attracting the largest percentage of Blacks and engineering and the biological sciences attracting the fewest Blacks. Baird also found that, in general, Blacks had to borrow money or rely on scholarships in order to pursue advanced studies, whereas Whites tended to rely on family support or their own savings. Baird also found variations in student/faculty relations. When compared to non-minority students, "Black students described faculty as more remote, less friendly, less accessible, less likely to treat students as adults, and less respected by students" (Baird, 1974, p. 3).

In noting the high rate of attrition among minorities in the first year of graduate school, Duncan suggests that the inability of the departmental community, particularly peers, to develop a social climate that invites minority students to be a part of the mainstream activities may be in part the reason for the high first year attrition rate among minority students. Students reported feeling on "the fringes" in their departments.

Owens (1976) conducted a study of Black graduate students in Alabama. Ultimately seeking to recommend methods and procedures that would help to alleviate the underrepresentation of Blacks in graduate school, Owens examined the responses to a fifty-item questionnaire completed by 204 Black graduate students enrolled in nine Alabama institutions. He found that for Black graduate students there were constraints imposed by role expectations, financial limitations, and inappropriate admissions standards. To increase the number of Blacks in graduate school, Owens recommended the following:

- (1) More rigorous enforcement of federal laws and court decisions concerning equal opportunity in higher education.
- (2) Accelerated recruitment of minorities for graduate and professional schools.
- (3) Increased financial assistance based on both need and merit.
- (4) Concentrated recruitment of Blacks in medicine, dentistry, law, the sciences and other fields in which minority representation is critically low.
- (5) Intensive counseling and supportive service to allow more minority students to be fully competitive with other students in graduate and professional schools.
- (6) A major research effort to determine the comprehensive effect upon minorities and Whites of retention and attrition, certifying examinations in the

professions, and employment at all levels of graduate and professional school education. (pp. 37-38)

In assessing the feelings and reactions of Black graduate students toward their academic and nonacademic environment, Carrington and Sedlacek (1977) examined the responses on a questionnaire completed by 120 Black graduate students enrolled at the University of Maryland. Like the Baird study, they found that on many items Black graduate students responded similarly to White students. The differences in the findings are related to racial variables. Carrington and Sedlacek reported that Black graduate students saw racism as a problem in their education. The researchers also found that graduate students were more limited in their contacts with faculty within their major departments than undergraduates and Black graduate students were closer to faculty in training and career orientation. With the small number of Black faculty at PWCUs, Black graduate students have a need for role models to which they can turn for advice. The things that the Black graduate students liked most were the location and quality of education at their university. The things they liked least were the racism and bureaucracy. Among the changes they wanted to see were more Black faculty and less racism.

In examining the graduate school success of Black students from White colleges and Black colleges, Anderson and Hrabowski (1977) conducted a descriptive comparison of the academic performance of both groups. The sample consisted of 350 Black graduate students who entered graduate programs at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Comparing the mean graduate GPA, master's level graduation rate, doctoral retention rate, and doctoral graduation rate, the researchers found that "Black students who attended predominantly Black colleges and those who attended predominantly White colleges as undergraduates were equally successful in

their master's and doctoral programs at a major research oriented university" (Anderson and Hrabowski, 1977, p. 302). The researchers also found that the two groups did not differ significantly on graduate grade point average, master's level graduation rate, or doctoral level retention.

Undergraduate Education 1980s-1990s

Black Students on White Campuses

Beginning in the late 1970s, a growing wave of political conservatism coupled with worsening economic conditions resulted in decreased commitment to greater access to higher educational opportunities for Blacks (Astin, 1982; Hall and Allen, 1982). At the graduate school level the recruitment efforts lessened; special admission programs were attacked with the outcry of reverse discrimination (Hall and Allen, 1982; Astin 1982; Morris, 1979). The literature of the 1980s that examined the Black experience on White campuses addressed the declining enrollment and the problem of attrition of Black students in higher education. As the numbers of Blacks in college and in PWCUs in particular continued to decline, the literature further addressed the problems of recruitment and retention of Black students.

Studies showed that Black students on predominantly White campuses continued to be disadvantaged when compared to their White counterparts in the rates of persistence (Astin 1982; Epps, 1989), academic achievement, and psychosocial adjustment (Fleming, 1984; Beckham, 1987-88). Seeking insight into the needs of Black students, these studies suggested broad implications for institutional policies and practices to ensure positive experiences for non-White students at PWCUs. In an essay examining the problems Black students face on predominantly White campuses, Beckham (1987-88) explained that the issues for these students are the same for all

students, that is, survival and achievement in school. The African American student, as with all students, needs and seeks a sense of self-worth and self-esteem and the encouraging support of faculty, administrators, and peers (Beckham, 1987-88). But as Beckham (1987-88) explained "Repeatedly, however, the experiences of Blacks in predominantly White institutions are chronicles of how the institutions have almost systematically bruised self-esteem and doled out mere pittance of support" (p. 76).

Looking specifically at the subjective experiences of Black students on predominantly White campuses, Beckham (1987-88) found that racism is unfortunately a practical consideration in the collegiate world in which they live, and that what Black students see and experience are unsettling interruptions of their psychological comfort and their psychic stability. "They hear outlandishly insensitive statements and observe painful expressions of disrespect and downright hatred" (p. 77). Based on his discussions with Black students, his observations and his own experiences as a Black student on a White campus, Beckham explains that instead of being encouraged to achieve, Black students are more likely to receive the message that they are not wanted and they can not make it.

The notion that White colleges and universities are not necessarily healthy environments for Black students was advanced in a 1987 study by Hughes. In addressing the declining enrollment of Blacks in higher education, Hughes sought to ascertain the intrapsychic and interpersonal adjustment of Black students on predominantly White and Black campuses. Using phenomenological methodology, the responses of 79 students to an open-ended questionnaire and the responses during interviews of selected participants were examined. Hughes explained that Blacks who attend predominantly Black universities have different expectations and experiences than do Blacks who attend predominantly White schools. Black students at PWCUs realize that their social, personal, emotional, and cultural development will be delayed

or postponed while on these campuses. Hughes explains that this is not because of the students' inability to balance academic and social goals, "but [it is] because of the unpreparedness of the White university environment to plan for and respond to their social and developmental needs" (p. 540). She suggests that nurturance, confidence building, and the positive identity formation of African Americans are stifled at White institutions of higher education.

If mainstream institutions of higher learning are in fact committed to equity, Beckham (1987-88) wrote that they must first acknowledge that racism exists on college campuses. He called for administrators and others to stop intellectually side stepping the truism of racism on campuses. He further recommended that the university's commitment to equality be issued in a policy statement, a forum developed to promulgate the institution's commitment to equal opportunity, and a monetary commitment made to develop programs and plans of action to reflect the university's posture toward its minority students (Beckham, 1987- 88).

The perceptions of Black students relative to their experiences on White campuses include the feeling that their presence is tolerated rather than welcomed (Beckham, 1987-88, Abraham, 1990). Black students also felt that they were not accepted as equals by their White peers (Beckham, 1987-88, Abraham, 1990). They felt that the prevailing attitude among Whites is that Blacks do not measure up intellectually. These students felt that White faculty and students viewed them as special cases, products of affirmative action or special programs (Armstrong-West and de la Teja, 1988; Beckham, 1987-88, Abraham, 1990, Hedegard, 1972).

In a comparative study which examined Black students' success in Black and White colleges, Fleming (1984) found that Black students have special problems in White institutional settings that White students do not experience. White institutions do not provide the level of social participation and interpersonal belonging for the

Black student that Black educational institutions do. On the Black college campus there is a greater opportunity for Black students to experience success in their academic pursuits. Fleming (1984) explains:

On predominantly Black campuses, Black student successes are more likely to gain the attention of faculty. Students are more likely to acquire the help they need in overcoming achievement-related deficiencies that are brought to the college setting. Conversely on White college campuses, Black students feelings of progress are thwarted. These students feel that instructors are not interested in them, do not give encouragement, and use unfair grading practices. (p. 152)

From the evidence provided by Black students attending White colleges, "the problem is one of institutional abandonment, isolation, and bias in the classroom -- factors that create a hostile interpersonal climate" (p. 155).

Offering another perspective on the experiences of Blacks on White campuses is a 1995 dissertation by Bradley. In seeking to capture the factors attributed to success by Black women in a predominantly White institution, Bradley (1995) examined the experiences of 10 African American women who were juniors and seniors at a southeastern state-supported university. Bradley conducted both individual and group interviews. She found that academic support programs offered by the university were integral to the success of the participants; in addition, the majority of the participants benefited from the programs specifically designed for minority students. Having found the existing Black campus community unorganized and inactive, the participants fulfilled their desire to bond with the Black campus community by developing their own communities within the residence hall systems. Bradley also found that the participants experienced both racism and sexism within the

campus community. They realized early in their college careers that "the university was still a haven for questionable policies and practices that involve disparities in the treatment of minorities on campus" (p. 108). She reported that the women developed an "expanding sense of self." They developed confidence in their skills obtained in their chosen fields, they understood the importance of balancing their culture with that of the majority culture, and they aspired to help and serve others as a part of their personal development. They also spoke of developing an understanding of others in the opportunities the university offered to meet and work with people from different backgrounds. While they felt they had little voice in changing the university culture, they "survived and flourished in a culture different from their own" (p. 102).

Feagin, Vera and Imani (1996) examined the racial barriers encountered by Black undergraduate students at White colleges and universities and the perspectives and concerns of Black parents in deciding which institutions their children should attend. Focus group interviews were conducted with thirty-six randomly selected Black students at one state university and 41 parents from the surrounding metropolitan areas (areas that often send their students to the university). The authors explained that the students and parents interviewed are typical of those who "grapple with the barriers faced by African Americans in higher education" (p. xi).

During focus group interviews, parents spoke of their daily lives and basic choices, their past and present and how they saw their futures. Feagin, Vera and Imani explained that the parents' reasons for wanting to send their children to college revealed that "the hopes and plans for a child's education are rooted in the parent's and student's familial past and extend into the family's future (p. 25). In considering colleges their children might attend, the child's abilities, needs, and inclinations as well as the academic, social and cultural environments of the colleges were considered.

When asked about the reputation of the area's White university for accommodating Blacks, the overwhelming majority of parents felt that the school's reputation was negative and expressed concern about the racial barriers on campus. Based on the parents' responses, the authors reported that the university had a reputation for being socially inhospitable to Blacks. The student view of the university's reputation was similar; the majority of students indicated that the university's reputation was negative.

During the interviews with the Black students who attended the area's White university, the authors found that the racial difficulties students faced were created not only by White students but by White professors, administrators, police officers, and other staff members. Using the concept of "space" in analyzing the students' experiences of racism, the authors explain: "The experiential reality of space is at the heart of social interaction." They further explain: "Experiencing the space around oneself, between oneself and others, and within oneself is meaningful in many cultures." Lee's study (as cited in Feagin, Vera and Imani, 1996, p. 49) People often view space expressively and symbolically. "In most societies those with the greater power and resources ordinarily control the use and meaning of important spaces in a society" (p. 49). The racism perpetrated by Whites was often understood as a defense of space that had traditionally been the domain of White men.

The ways that White students sought to establish "White territorial markers" were through verbal assaults and other attempts to humiliate their Black peers, treating Black students as invisible, and racial stereotyping. In their interactions with White professors, Black students reported positive experiences that they said offset the negative experiences. The negative experiences with White professors included cultural insensitivity, racial stereotyping, viewing Blacks as intellectually inferior, forcing Black students to speak "for the race," and unfair grading practices. Administrative barriers were manifested in poor advising, "lack of responsiveness on

the part of White officials and clerks with whom they must deal" (p. 133), negative encounters with dormitory staff, and harassment from university police.

The authors contend that Black families are faced with difficult and often agonizing dilemmas in deciding which colleges to send their children. Feagin, Vera and Imani found that given the racial reputation of some White colleges and universities, many African American parents feel that their children may pay a heavy personal price in seeking participation in the academic environment of White colleges and universities. Though Black parents and students want the same from a college education as White parents and students, Blacks face race related struggles and dilemmas. In understanding the factors that inform the Black parents' and students' choice of colleges, the authors explain: "The racial barriers of the past and the hope that the racial situation will change in the future color the temporal aspects of these educational choices and dilemmas" (p. 48).

Graduate Education 1980s - 1990s

Generalized Graduate Education Issues

Studies of the 1980s examined graduate school environments and their impact on students' personal and academic adjustment. A literature review by Gilbert (1982) examined the impact of graduate school on students' self image, marital and family relations and finances. Examining graduate school environments, Gilbert found that students' viewed professors as poor instructors, perceived faculty as inaccessible and distant, and generally experienced a sense of isolation and powerlessness in their departments. The implications of the graduate school environment for the family include an increase in intimacy and bonding within the family because of the isolation experienced or, as Gilbert explained, "familial isolation and loneliness may occur"

(p.130). In reviewing the literature on the impact of graduate school on self esteem, it is evident that the findings vary. Gilbert suggested: "Graduate school may be a screening process of sorts: The students who are most capable survive and, to some extent, thrive psychologically, while others develop psychiatric difficulties or withdraw" (p. 13).

In examining academic performance, Gilbert (1982) identified the demands and competition of graduate school as a major source of stress for students. The psychological strain of the academic demands will sometimes be related to family strain, "though not in a clear cause-and-effect manner" (p. 131). In examining the financial strain graduate school places on the family, he examined literature that identifies financial strain as a major factor in marriages. In the literature examining the graduate students' perceptions of their financial situations, Gilbert found that finances were not a great source of concern. Though finances appeared not to be a major concern, Gilbert cites the literature that addressed the impact of limited income on the family system. He explained that when one spouse works and the other is a student, time pressures along with the loss of power because of financial dependence may be a source of friction for families.

Graduate school also effects marital relations. Gilbert found that the literature examining the marital relations of students further identified that dysfunction in the relationship was partially attributable to the strain of school. The difficulties include lack of time, lack of communication, isolation, and personal meaninglessness experienced by the wives of students. He concluded that in spite of the negative impact of graduate school on the family, families seemed to adapt well. He found in many of the studies that many families reported high levels of marital and family relations satisfaction and managed to adjust to limited finances.

In a 1987 study, Smart examined student satisfaction in graduate education. To test the premise that the similarity of undergraduate and graduate environments is related to students' satisfaction with their graduate programs, Smart analyzed the survey responses of 3,929 students enrolled in graduate programs. Participants were asked to indicate their satisfaction with their graduate experience: academic program satisfaction, satisfaction with faculty-student relations, and satisfaction with peers. Smart tested the hypothesis that "those students whose undergraduate and graduate environments were highly similar are expected to be more satisfied with their graduate programs than those whose undergraduate and graduate experiences were less similar" (p. 218).

Using a classification scheme, the students' graduate and undergraduate majors were assigned to one of six different academic environments. The undergraduate and graduate majors were examined for level of similarities in their academic environments. In examining the measures of student satisfaction and the levels of similarities in their undergraduate and graduate majors, the data revealed that "there is a positive relationship between the similarity of students' undergraduate and graduate majors and their satisfaction with their graduate programs and...this relationship is similar for men and women" (p. 220).

Smart explained that students who were socialized in the environments of similar disciplines during their undergraduate and graduate training experienced higher levels of satisfaction in graduate school with faculty, peers and their programs than those whose undergraduate and graduate training were not in similar disciplines. The findings indicate that those students who pursued graduate training in disciplines dissimilar to their undergraduate majors may experience greater difficulty in adjusting to and possibly succeeding in graduate programs. He further explained they are less likely to have favorable perceptions of the "quality of faculty-student relations,

accessibility of faculty, faculty support of their work, and relations with other students than do their peers whose undergraduate and graduate programs are similar" (p. 221). Smart advises that early identification of such students and special counseling or advising may provide constructive institutional efforts in helping these students to make the transition from undergraduate to graduate education.

Gender Issues in Graduate Education

The studies of the 1980s and 1990s addressing gender issues examined the differential treatment women experience in male oriented institutions as well as the differences in the experiences of minority and majority women in institutions of higher education. In a 1982 study examining the perceptions and concerns of women doctoral students, Hite compared the experiences of women doctoral students with those of their male colleagues. Surveys were mailed to 692 full-time and part-time doctoral students in 27 fields from one large state supported university. The fields of study were identified as traditional - historically feminine in orientation, androgynous - not sex specific, and nontraditional - historically masculine in orientation (Hite, 1985). Issues of role congruence, faculty support and peer support were deemed most relevant for the study. Role congruence is defined as "A state of harmony or comfort with the integration of several different roles or functions into one's life-style" (p.19).

Responses from the 481 completed questionnaires were analyzed. In examining the data for gender effect, the findings suggested that men experienced more role congruence than women regardless of field of study. Men also perceived that they had more support from their professors than did the women regardless of field of study. There was no gender difference in the perception of support from peers.

In examining data by field of study, faculty support appeared greater in traditional fields of study for men and women. The least amount of support was reported in the androgynous fields, and the students in nontraditional fields reported faculty support in the midrange. Men and women in the nontraditional fields, however, reported the highest level of peer support while those in the traditional field of study reported the least amount of peer support. Those in the androgynous fields reported peer support in the midrange.

Hite identified role conflict as a major issue regarding the development of women scholars. Explaining that many women who show promise - "report conflict in attempting to integrate their personal and professional life roles." Hite suggests that role conflict may contribute to "the tendency of women to leave their doctoral study before completion....Thus a cycle of underachievement among women is perpetuated" (p. 21). She suggests that women may need more encouragement as they pursue graduate degrees because of the pressure of conflicting demands. The fact that women perceived less support from faculty than men and lacked mentor and role models may discourage them from completing graduate programs.

Hite proposed that institutions of higher education reevaluate the informal and formal policies of their graduate schools and graduate programs for signs of intentional and unintentional biases against women. She also suggests that institutions should increase the number of female faculty and reeducate faculty to help them to move past the assumptions that women lack the commitment and ability to succeed.

Focusing on women in the graduate school process, Levy (1982) examined the experiences of women in predominantly White male universities. Speaking of her own experiences as a student and those of other women, the author explained that male students have advantages over female students in predominantly White male institutions. Some of the advantages she identified are: "Being invited to assist

professors in giving workshops....Being encouraged to write grants for support.... and Writing for publication with professors and having both names appear as coauthors" (Levy, 1982, p. 46). She explained that female students are sometimes treated differently by male professors because "many adult males are simply uncomfortable with women" (p. 47). Some men have never experienced a relationship with a woman as a colleague and/ or friend. Many men have only played the role of father, brother, husband, and son in the lives of women and have not communicated with women as equals and competent professionals. Levy further explained that there are also men who only see women as sex objects.

Levy's work is couched in a theoretical framework that identifies four major myths about White male society.

First, White male society is the only one that exists....Second, White male society is innately superior....Third, this system knows and understands all.... Finally, White male society believes that it is possible to be logical, rational, and objective at all times. (p. 47)

The author pointed out that predominantly White institutions often operate based on these myths.

Levy identified gender differences in people's understandings of "relationships, intimacy, responsibility, the center of one's world and dualism vs. multivariance" (p. 49). Women pursuing graduate studies in predominantly White male institutions are faced with the choice of playing the game, dropping out of graduate school, or learning to play the game with regard to "fairly superficial behaviors in order to preserve the self while attending graduate school" (p. 48).

Though Levy's work focused on the experiences of White women, she also cites an example of unfair treatment of a Black woman doctoral student by a White

male professor. She explains, however, that "It is clear that the challenges for a Black female are greater than for a White female student when trying to survive the predominantly White male system" (p. 52).

In addressing the challenges minority women face in White institutions of higher learning, Turner and Thompson (1993) examined the differences between minority and majority women's socialization experiences in graduate school. Using a questionnaire and interviews, Turner and Thompson analyzed the responses of thirty-seven minority women including Blacks, Native Americans, Asian Americans and Hispanics, and those of 25 majority women who were enrolled at a midwestern U.S. university. The women's perceptions on four aspects of the doctoral experience were identified. They were: "the recruitment process, departmental opportunities for apprenticeship and mentoring experiences, a cooperative or competitive departmental environment and racial and gender discrimination in the department" (p. 359).

Turner and Thompson found that "minority women generally had fewer opportunities for professional socialization experiences than majority women" (p. 359). Though the overall number of women in the study recruited by the university was low, a few more minority women reported being actively recruited by the graduate department. Six minority women and 2 majority women were recruited.

The majority women had more opportunity than minority women for apprenticeships such as teaching assistantships, co-authoring papers with faculty, making presentations and "being introduced by faculty to a network of influential academics who could provide support for students seeking entry level jobs" (p. 360). Forty-nine percent of minority women held teaching or research assistantships while 60 percent of the majority women did. Fifty-two percent of the majority women co-authored papers versus 27 percent of minority women. Forty-eight percent of the majority women co-presented papers at conferences with faculty while 38 percent of

minority women did. Sixty-four percent of the majority respondents and 51 percent of minorities reported that they received assistance from faculty with entry level job searches.

Though they reported getting along well with faculty most minority women did not have mentors. The minority women spoke of the lack of sponsorship in their programs. Majority women, however, mentioned the availability of apprenticeship and mentoring opportunities at the university. In examining the departmental environment, Turner and Thompson found that minorities perceived their departments as competitive and reported feelings of detachment and isolation. In contrast, the majority women perceived their departments as cooperative and seemed to have experienced a sense of belonging.

Turner and Thompson (1993) found that minority women appeared to have perceived gender discrimination as a stronger barrier to their success in graduate school than racial discrimination. "They reported little racism, but, like the majority women, reported extensive gender discrimination....passive gender discrimination in their programs - a sense of being passed over in favor of less able male students" (p. 363-364).

Policy implications relative to the findings include: more active recruiting of minority women, funding to address the social needs of minority women, "who are often the only minority women in their departments" (p. 367), modified curricula to include the recognition of people of color, increased efforts in recruiting and retaining faculty of color, and encouragement of faculty of all races to provide apprenticeship and mentoring opportunities for women of color.

Black Graduate Students on White Campuses

Studies produced during the 1980s and 1990s examine the African American graduate school experience in light of the declining enrollment of Blacks in graduate and professional schools. These studies provide recommendations for effective recruiting and retention of African American graduate students in PWCUs. Many of the studies cite social integration, faculty relations, and apprenticeships as factors that are prominent in the experiences of minority graduate students attempting to find their way within the graduate school culture.

Social integration, as explained by Gottlieb (1981), refers to "people's involvement with the institutions, voluntary associations, and informal social life of their communities" (p. 32). In a 1986 study which empirically examined how Black graduate students manage to cope and adapt to the graduate school environment, De Four found that students who were more socially integrated into their academic departments were less likely to have thoughts about dropping out of school. De Four (1986) explained that "how graduate students are connected to or separated from their departmental community has implications for professional development (p. 16).

In a 1982 study surveying the characteristics, experiences, and aspirations of over 400 African American graduate students in six state-supported predominantly White universities, Allen found that 50 percent of the students had GPAs above 3.3 and 58 percent had GPAs above 3.0; 60 percent were under 31 years old, and 25 percent were between 31 and 38 years old; 60% had not read a paper at a professional meeting; 87 percent had not published a paper; and 87 percent had not been awarded research funding. Adler found that only 20 percent felt a sense of belonging to their campus; 58 percent responded that professors sometimes invited Black students to participate in research projects, and nearly 25 percent said it never occurred. Fifty-one percent reported that their White colleagues sometimes avoided social interaction, with

them, and 34 percent reported that this occurred often. The data suggest poor social involvement for Black graduate students at majority White institutions. "They seem not to be thoroughly integrated into the social life of their respective schools" (p. 4). Allen concludes that faculty relations, social isolation and appropriate supportive services may be influential in Black student success.

Another aspect of social integration is related to available systems of support. A 1988 study by Oates examined the differences between how persisters and non-persisters at the University of Massachusetts perceived their experiences of support. The persisters anticipated and received more support from friends and co-workers, as well as from administration, faculty, support staff, and colleagues. "Non-persisters described their transition to graduate school as negative, overwhelming, and energy draining" (p. 47).

Examining factors influencing persistence and nonpersistence, Clewell (1987) looked at the personal and background characteristics of persisting and nonpersisting Black and Hispanic doctoral students. Clewell interviewed 63 doctoral students; 54 persisters and 9 nonpersisters, from six graduate institutions. Information was collected about their background and personal characteristics. She found that the persisters were high achievers in high school, had supportive advisors, participated in professional activities during graduate school, and had a strong desire for knowledge. In addition the persisters had confidence in their academic abilities, and although there were times when they wanted to leave their programs they stayed because "they do not like to fail" (p. 19).

When asked about their graduate school experiences, the nonpersisters identified factors that contributed most to them leaving their programs. They identified both internal and external factors. The external factors included: a nonsupportive dissertation committee, financial hardship, a hostile educational environment, an

unhealthy learning environment, family responsibilities and an ineffective adviser. Internal factors were lack of discipline, indecisiveness about career goals, lack of motivation and lack of self confidence. When persisters asked about factors that contributed most to their persistence, they cited determination, unwillingness to experience failure, self-confidence, clear goals, hunger for knowledge, obligation to self and family, desire to be a role model for minorities. External reasons included institutional support systems, family support, and financial support.

Among the most important reasons identified by nonpersisters was for leaving the program were lack of program structure, lack of self confidence, lack of motivation and financial difficulties. The persisters overwhelmingly identified unwillingness to experience failure as the most important factor that kept them in graduate school. Others identified support systems, financial support and "a challenging research project" (Clewell, 1987, p. A-1).

Relations with faculty is another major issue for the African American graduate student. In a 1982 study examining race consciousness and achievement in Black graduate students at six PWCUs, Hall and Allen found that 45 percent felt that their professors sometimes avoided interactions with Black students outside the classroom. One quarter of the students felt that faculty never involved Black students in research projects and activities. Over one third felt that their professors never offered Black students opportunities to gain experience as teaching assistants or instructors. Only two percent of the sample reported having teaching or research assistantships as their main source of funding. Of greatest importance, 67 percent of the Black students claimed to have experienced some type of racial discrimination on campus. The findings suggest that students' personal characteristics were more influential predictors of race consciousness and academic achievement than were graduate school experiences. They also found that perceptions of opportunities for mentoring were

influential in reducing race consciousness and raising achievement levels. In light of the difficulties reported by students, the researchers found that "experienced Black students are more familiar and better adjusted to the potentially alienating, frustrating environments that large universities represent, thus their academic achievement is higher" (p. 60).

Racism makes social integration within academe almost impossible. Benjamin (1991) defines racism as "a process of justification for the domination, exploitation, and control of one racial group by another. It incorporates a set of attitudes and beliefs to support the dominant group's discriminatory behavior" (p. xxvii). It manifests itself intentionally or unintentionally, covertly or overtly, individually and collectively, and subjectively and objectively (Benjamin, 1991). Racism is a painful reality of American society. Blandin (1994) explains that

when African Americans raise the specter of racism, therefore, they stand on very solid ground. That specter reflects a genuine reality in the life of the nation that plays itself out in business, in higher education, in athletics, in entertainment, in civil liberties. Racism persists as a major barrier to minority advancement. (p. 31)

In his examination of factors that contribute to African American graduate students' decisions to forego graduate studies at two predominantly White institutions, Stanley (1990) found that racial discrimination is an important factor in the decision to forego the pursuit of a doctoral program at Texas A&M University and the University of Texas at Austin. The students that experience overt (open and observable) discrimination by White students are apt to forego the pursuit of a doctoral program. Stanley stated that experiences with racial discrimination was the most significant factor in not pursuing a doctoral degree.

As key players in the process, faculty contribute greatly to the university climate, and how students interact with and relate to faculty appears to be an important factor in a student's success (Edmonds and McCurdy, 1988; Blackwell, 1987; Nettles, 1990). Stanley (1990) also found that the type of relationships (positive or negative) between faculty and graduate students is a significant factor in the decision to pursue a doctorate elsewhere. "This is an even more significant factor than relationships with classmates, friends, parents, self and others" (p. 99-100). Allen (1981) notes that "poor relations with faculty are likely to result in decreased opportunities for teaching and research, denial of essential mentoring relationships, lower grades, and less likelihood of introduction into professional networks" (p. 10). Graduate students are clearly dependent on faculty for their academic and professional growth.

Mentoring is another aspect of faculty relations. The mentoring function as described by Levinson (1978) is to sponsor, guide, provide counsel, and support their protégés. "The mentor also functions to help in the developmental task of realizing the dream" (p. 98). Levinson pointed out that women and minorities experience greater difficulties than others in finding mentors. The experiences of Black graduate students support Levinson's claim as noted in studies by Baird (1974), Duncan, (1976) and Willie, Grady and Hope (1991). These studies found that minorities in White institutions reported smaller percentages of mentor/mentee relationships as part of their graduate school experience than White students.

Willie, Grady and Hope (1991) conducted a study examining the experiences of faculty members at United Negro College Fund institutions who were awarded grants to pursue full-time doctoral level study at predominantly White institutions. During the participants' matriculation at the predominantly White institutions, Willie found that, of the 46 Black graduate students participating in the study, 46 percent had no mentors. He explained that nearly one fifth of the participants in the study wanted a

mentor but could not find one. Those Black students who did not want or need a mentor accounted for less than 10 percent of the total. Willie, Grady and Hope (1991) also found that, of all mentors, nearly half were based in institutions other than the student's school of matriculation. The students' institution of employment, the Black institutions, were where nearly one out of every two mentors was found. In short, the graduate school of matriculation provided mentors for only one fourth of the students. The Black graduate students were also, in general, discomforted by the racial climate on campus (Willie, Grady and Hope 1991).

In a 1982 study of Black graduate students at PWCUs, Allen reported that students found that some faculty experienced discomfort in dealing with Black students. "This discomfort gets translated into an apparent reluctance to work with Black students, as well as subtle discriminatory acts toward Black students" (p. 10). The following two statements from students in Allen's study illustrate these issues: "Several professors expressed surprise, disbelief regarding my writing ability ('You really write well. Did you write this, it's so articulate.');" "Teacher who was always too busy to help me or answer questions about the classwork, yet found time for White students" (p. 7). Pruitt and Issac (1988) found that dissertation topics that focus on minority issues, which many Black doctoral students pursue, were not well received. "White faculty commonly characterize such interests as unworthy, an attitude that, when added to the usual environment pressures, make graduate school intolerable. Some students withdraw psychologically and ultimately drop out " (p. 535).

Apprenticeships in the form of graduate research or teaching assistantships is another factor contributing to the professional growth of graduate students. Chandler (1988) explains that teaching and research assistantships facilitate interaction between students and faculty as well as help students get a sense of themselves in the

discipline. Assistantships also provide an important portion of funding for graduate education. Here again the experiences of the Black doctoral student is lacking. One of the major differences that exists between Black and White students is how they finance their graduate education. In a study by Blackwell examining the production of Black doctorates, he explains that from 1974 to 1984 approximately half of all White students financed their graduate education through teaching assistantships compared to approximately one-fourth of Black students. Blackwell also explains that "in every year under review, the proportion of White students awarded research assistantships more than doubled the proportion of Black students who received this form of support" (1987, p. 333). While many White students are awarded teaching and research assistantships, Black students rely more heavily on loans (Blackwell, 1987).

In their study of the experiences of Black graduate students, Willie, Grady and Hope (1991) found that "Black students were also unhappy about their access to teachers, particularly opportunities to serve as teaching and research assistants" (p. 65). In examining differences among African American, Hispanic, and White doctoral students at Florida State, Rutgers, Ohio State Universities, and the University of Maryland at College Park, Nettles (1990) found that African Americans receive the fewest numbers of teaching or research assistantships. He recommended that minority doctoral students receive more financial aid, assistantships, and compensatory interventions.

During the 1980s and 1990s a number of dissertations examined the experiences of minority students in White academe. These studies examined issues ranging from minority students' decisions to forego graduate studies at particular institutions to the issues of adaptation of Black students. The findings of these studies reveal that social isolation, financial difficulties, lack of professional opportunity, and

racism play major roles in adding to the difficulties of what is for most an already difficult journey.

A 1986 study by De Four examined the adaptation of Black students at PWCUs. De Four examined how social integration was related to academic performance and psychological well-being among 89 Black graduate students. She found that the degree of social isolation can have implications for student performance and well-being. "Students who were involved with members of their department were better adjusted, thought they were performing well academically and actually were performing well " (p. 44). Students reported more outside-of-school contact with Black faculty and students than with nonBlack faculty and students. De Four found that out-of-school contacts with Black faculty were consistently important to mental health, academic performance, and potential attrition. She concluded that "specific forms of social integration are essential for successful adjustment to graduate school" (De Four, 1986, p. iii).

In a 1990 dissertation, Stanley investigated factors that contributed to African American graduate students' decisions to forego graduate studies at the University of Texas and Texas A & M University. In examining a 70 item questionnaire completed and returned by approximately 54 of the 113 Black graduate students contacted, Stanley identified several factors that influenced the students to pursue their graduate studies at other institutions. These students noted dissatisfaction with aspects of the internal environment, institutional services, and academic environment as well as the quality of the institution (academic facilities, climate, support, faculty). These factors played a significant role in students' decision to forego graduate studies at either the University of Texas at Austin or Texas A&M.

In a phenomenological investigation of the graduate school experiences of African Americans at Mississippi State University, Miller (1993) interviewed 12

graduate students from various disciplines. The purpose of the study was to understand their overall graduate school experiences and the factors of greatest influence during their matriculation. The factors identified by the participants as significant included:

(a) the strength of their relationships with faculty, (b) the effectiveness of their interactions with their major professor (advisor), (c) their academic relations with their peers, (d) financial support, (e) emotional and social support from their families, (f) the strength of their relationships with the Office of the Graduate School, and (g) the subjective assigning of grades. (Miller, 1993, p. 116)

Black Professors in White Academe 1970s - 1990s

The world of the Negro scholar is indescribably lonely, and he must, somehow, pursue truth down the lonely path, while at the same time making certain that his conclusions are sanctioned by universal standards developed and maintained by those who frequently do not even recognize him. (Franklin, 1963)

Because of the nature of doctoral work, this study assumes that the majority of African American doctoral graduates pursue their professional goals in the academic arena. The experiences of Black professors adds another dimension to the experiences of Black scholars in White academe. Though there was an increase in the number of Black professors at PWCUs between 1965 and 1975, Exum (1983) explained out that the increase was not significant. This fact perhaps accounts for the dearth of literature examining the experiences of Black professors in predominantly White institutions. Nevertheless, a few studies were produced in the 1970s, most notable was by Wagstaff and Moore (1974). The study examined the experiences of more than three thousand Black educators, men and women, from hundreds of colleges and

universities. In spite of the differences and contradictions in the responses relative to their experiences in predominantly White schools, the researchers found the universal perception was that

a Black educator in a predominantly White college or university perceives himself as an alien. He is alien first of all because he is Black. To be Black in any major institution in America is to be different. And when one looks different, he is looked upon differently. (p. 2)

Moore and Wagstaff (1974) explain that "most Black professionals who are now on White campuses have 'paid their dues,' 'picked themselves up by their bootstraps,' and made sure that they were qualified as demanded by their White colleagues....Still they consider themselves alien" (p. 2). In their observation of the social distance between Black and White colleagues, they wrote:

They find themselves covertly sizing up their powerful White colleagues as real enemies, seeing in the eyes of their fellow aliens the same loneliness and obscurity they feel, and waiting, always waiting, for that inevitable moment when another White colleague will confirm the ancient suspicion and so real the past inequities that when a Black does find a White who cares about him and respects him, it is a trauma for him. The skeptic must stand there, shocked, not knowing what to do with his stockpile of preconceived resentment. (Moore & Wagstaff, 1974 p. 2-3)

Moore and Wagstaff (1974) relate the optimism of many Black scholars upon entering White academe, many of whom encountered a rude awakening.

To many Blacks, higher education was perceived as the promised land. In reality they found it to be a fortress--almost impenetrable to all but Caucasian

males. Publicly, some Blacks continue to affirm their former perception, but in private they admit that higher education is different from what they thought it would be. They are aware that the practices of higher education do not fit with the image of it. They now know that they cannot fit easily into a structure largely based on their own exclusion. Or, as one respondent has said, "We find ourselves compelled to help maintain a structure that we weren't meant to share. So here I am -- drinking to the system's health, while I lose my own." (p. 3)

An essay by Staples (1972) examined the experiences of Black scholars in White academe. From admission to graduate school to experiences as professors in both Black and White academe, Staples identified factors that have stood as roadblocks to the Black scholar trying to achieve some level of success in academia. Among the obstacles for Black scholars at PWCUs is the Eurocentric perspective in coursework and research. The courses rarely address themselves to the needs of Black communities and, as Staples wrote, "In my own field, sociology, Blacks were most frequently discussed in studies on crime or deviant behavior" (p. 43). The author explained that the many Black Ph.D.s who work at Black colleges after completing graduate school will find that the Black schools do not recognize any concept of academic freedom. Besides the hardship the scholar must endure because of the poverty of many Black schools, the scholar's freedom to teach is curtailed. "One finds his teaching schedule blatantly disregards his preferences and competency" (p. 44). Among the obstacles experienced by Black professors at PWCUs are tense relations with White colleagues, being challenged by White students, and inequities in the promotion and tenure process.

In a 1975 study conducted to assess the perceptions of Black teachers and administrators at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Anderson, Frierson, and Lewis examined the questionnaire responses of 42 participants. They found that 64 percent of the respondents felt that their expertise was highly respected by White colleagues and 19 percent said it was moderately respected. Seven percent reported that their expertise was held in low regard. Sixty-nine percent of the respondents expressed optimism about the fairness with which their colleagues would judge their suitability for tenure, advancement, and promotion. Only 36 percent, however, reported that they had received clear information in writing on the criteria for performance evaluation and tenure. Fifty-two percent of the respondents indicated that they did not feel particularly close to White colleagues in their departments and that their closest associates tended to be non-White. Thirty-one percent reported that their closest departmental colleagues were White.

In assessing the racial climate of the institution, 66 percent of the respondents perceived a generally racist attitude in their offices or departments. Sixty-four percent reported having personally experienced racism. Eighty-one percent of the respondents felt that they were not always regarded as part of the team. "They reported that their ideas and suggestions were seldom actively solicited by colleagues" (p. 98). In response to the question "What is the single most serious problem at the university?", 41 percent responded that racism was the most serious. Fourteen percent identified the most pressing problem as scarcity of Black faculty. Poor communications between the races was identified by 14 percent, and 7 percent identified powerlessness among Blacks as the most pressing problem.

Though the numbers of Black professors in White academe remained small, a larger body of literature was produced during the 1980s and 1990s addressing issues common to Black professors in White academe. Similar to the experiences of Black

students on White campuses, social integration was a factor in the experiences of Black professors in White academe. The literature examining the experiences of Black professors provided vivid accounts of the isolationism and overt racism they encounter in White institutions (Harvey, 1987; Benjamin, 1991). The literature also revealed that Black faculty members are least likely to secure the rank of full professor and lag behind White faculty in obtaining tenure (Benjamin, 1991; Brown 1994; Exum, 1983). Black academics are more likely to be in lower rank non-tenurable positions that are affiliated with special programs for minorities (Benjamin, 1991). Blacks are also less likely to be employed at the most prestigious colleges and universities (Prestage, 1979). Their starting salaries are often lower than those of their White colleagues (Sutherland, 1990; Exum, 1983). Many faculty of color hold joint appointments in a traditional department and a in department of Black or ethnic studies. Consequently, the faculty member must balance the demands of both departments (Sutherland 1990; Menges & Exum 1983). The literature cited factors that impede increased numbers of Black faculty at PWCUs; these include faculty attitudes and behavior, institutional practices, and racism (Moore, 1988; Benjamin, 1991; Sutherland 1990).

In examining the status of Black faculty in White academe, Moore (1988) argues that the attitudes and behavior of White faculty is a major problem in recruiting, hiring, and retaining Black faculty at PWCUs. Moore posits that the faculty members are the gate keepers, they provide advice and consent to the leadership. "As a general rule faculty controls access to its ranks" (p. 117).

Contributing to the alien status experienced by some Black academics is the limited social interaction between Black and White colleagues at PWCUs (Benjamin, 1991; Wagstaff and Moore, 1974; Sutherland, 1990). Perhaps facilitating a sense of distance is the feeling among Black faculty that their White colleagues think that the

minority faculty member has joined the institution only to be enriched, not to enrich the institution (Benjamin, 1991). Benjamin examined the experiences of Black academics at PWCUs. One of the participants in her study explained that Black faculty members do not get support from White colleagues because "Whites have a lack of respect for the academic and service activities of Black faculty. This colors the perceptions of White faculty and students toward Black faculty" (p. 128). Having a negative image and lower expectations of Black faculty, the participant asserted, "any White student feels he/she has the authority to challenge one's credentials, while they will never do that for a White faculty member" (p. 128). Sutherland (1990) also found that at one level, White students resist Black scholars. She explains that "some students openly challenge the professor's credentials. An associated occurrence is that there are White students who do not expect Black professors to be academically demanding" (p. 21).

Benjamin also found that often the Black scholars in her study challenged the traditional body of Eurocentric knowledge and scholarship. These scholars employ an Afrocentric paradigm in terms of content, theory, and methodology. She explained that this presents a problem in evaluating the scholarship of Blacks in academe because "the traditional Eurocentric producers of knowledge are in conflict with the emerging Afrocentric perspective" (Benjamin, 1991, p. 132). Though one of the reasons for hiring Black scholars is that they offer a new source of knowledge, "some of these scholars face the problem of how that knowledge is evaluated and how it impacts the promotion and tenure process" (p. 132).

Black professors in White academe often walked a tight rope as they negotiate among the attitudes and expectations of White colleagues, administrators, and students while trying to achieve their professional goals. In facing social isolation, a lack of respect, and taxing professional obligations, Black academics are expected to perform a buffer role in the university with the Black students and in the Black community

(Lyons, 1989; Menges & Exum, 1983). A minority faculty member in White academe is a role model and is expected to be an advisor, a counselor, an advocate for minority students. "Even so, the dilemmas posed by competing demands and that sense of responsibility to minority students place a heavy burden on some minority faculty" (Blackwell, 1988, p. 427). Blackwell (1988) explained that, too frequently, minorities in token positions on predominantly White campuses are expected to assume the responsibility for everything labeled "minority." Blackwell pointed to the unfairness of this practice especially during the tenure review process:

Tenure is theoretically denied because of weakness in one or more of three areas: teaching, research, and service. In many major institutions, service is a criterion of the lowest priority. Yet that is where the strengths of many minorities lie, because every conceivable committee within the university wants them as a "minority presence." (Blackwell, 1987, p. 343)

A 1993 dissertation by Sinegar examined how Black professors at predominantly White institutions coped with occupational stress resulting from their status as members of a racial minority. A case study of five Black professors at PWCUs in the Washington DC metropolitan area was conducted. Sinegar found that early childhood socialization was a significant factor in the subjects' responses to race-related stressors. Aggression-oriented coping styles were exhibited by those who received guidance on the issue of racial discrimination prior to the respondent's first encounter with racial prejudice. Coping styles of denial and avoidance were exhibited by those respondents who received no such guidance. "Moreover, a relatively high level of racial identification was exhibited by the former group of respondents" (p. 159). Isolation and alienation were evidenced throughout the study. "All respondents exhibited patterns of social distancing behavior toward all White colleagues" (p. 160).

In contrast, all the respondents said they enjoyed highly favorable standings with their superiors.

In examining the development of Black scholars and identifying the factors that contribute to their success, Willie (1986) studied five Black scholars in the social sciences and humanities. The five scholars were identified as outstanding by their colleagues. Posing the question, "What were the life processes and events that developed the five Black candidates into the scholars that they are?", Willie used life history as the method of investigation. His goal was to develop an ideal-type model of stage development for Black intellectuals. He utilized an age stage analysis of the data. After examining each scholar's family life, education, and career, Willie found that there were distinguishable career, educational, and family or kinship stages. Willie explained that

career, education, and family development processes are relatively independent in that each process has a life range of its own and a sequence of stages that are system-specific. The analysis also reveals that these structures or systems are interrelated - that events in one system condition happenings in another. (p. 105)

In examining the three systems Willie concluded that the most powerful of the three was the career system in that it was primary in the public identity of the five scholars. Education was the second most powerful system in that it is an authoritative sanctioning agency for academic standards. The least powerful was the family structure; yet it is the most enduring. "It can orient one toward or away from extended formal schooling. It can stabilize or disrupt a professional career. The scholars studied here had decades of marriage behind them to spouses with whom there existed mutual respect and affection....Without support of the family, educational and

professional achievement is very difficult. Neither system is able to stand alone" (p. 106).

In the 1980s and 1990s there remained a dearth of literature that addressed personal and academic concerns of faculty of color in White academe (Sutherland, 1990). In light of the appallingly small number of Black faculty in America's White colleges and universities, much of the literature that examines the experiences of Black faculty examines factors that make academic life tolerable at best and impossible at worst.

A 1982 essay by Mitchell explored her thoughts and struggles as a Black academician in the social sciences. Mitchell reflected on her experiences as a teacher, graduate student, and professor in White academe and describes the struggles perhaps peculiar to a person of color. Some of the dilemmas she faced included bicultural awareness as well as a sense of double marginality. She explained:

As a Black scholar I am both within and outside White academia: my visibility and minority status are inseparable, ever present, always apparent to me and my colleagues....The rules, though tacit, are quite clear: if I fail to conform to the behavior which is socially defined and sanctioned by the academic community, I will be held accountable and labeled. (Mitchell, 1982, p. 38)

Mitchell also questioned the sociopolitical nature of social science inquiry and asks "how research can more adequately reflect the reality of Black people's lives" (p. 27). She explained that "we [Black researchers] want to conduct research with our own ethnic group, but are forced to do it by using dominant-group theories and methodologies" (p. 40). As a result, minority researchers must explain why minority groups do so poorly in light of the prevalent theories and paradigms, or they must challenge the theories (Mitchell, 1982). Challenging existing theories is risky

business. "The minority researcher must not only criticize, but pose viable theoretical alternatives or be perceived as another ideologue who is all rhetoric and no results" (p. 40).

Discussion

Much of the literature examining the experiences of Blacks at predominantly White colleges and universities examined those experiences in light of declining enrollment and high attrition rate of Black students. The literature of the 1960s and 1970s examining the Black experience in White academe focused primarily on undergraduate experiences. With the growing number of Black students at PWCUs, studies focused on student characteristics at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Studies also examined how students coped with difficulties at both levels. Gender issue were also addressed. As the women's movement advanced its agenda, the experiences of women in the male oriented institutions of higher education were addressed. The particular issues Black women face were, however, noticeably absent from the studies of women in academe.

In light of a decline in the commitment by PWCUs of greater access for minorities, the literature of the 1980s and the 1990s focused on declining enrollment and high attrition rates at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. These studies reveal social and psychological issues related to racial barriers. In examining the generalized graduate school experience, some studies examined the graduate school environment and its impact on students' personal adjustment. Gender issues of the 1980s and 1990s focused on the differential treatment women receive in predominantly White male institutions. The literature also begins to address issues faced by Black women in light of their double minority status.

Though the number of Black professors in White academe increased during the 1970s, there was a dearth of literature on their experiences during that decade. More literature was produced during the 1980s and 1990s, though the number of Black professors in White institutions remained relatively small. Over the decades the issues for Black professors at White colleges and universities have not changed. The literature cited social isolation, racism, lack of professional advancement, and poor faculty attitudes among the issues faced by Black professors.

Many of the studies examining the Black experience at PWCUs address the difficulties Blacks in White academe face. Though a myriad of recommendations have been made for attracting and retaining Black undergraduate students, Black graduate students, and Black faculty, there remains a paucity of studies that examine the experiences of African Americans who, in spite of the difficulties, have been successful in their academic endeavors.

Few studies have looked closely at the subjective experiences of successful Black scholars in White academe and the meaning of those experiences from the perspective of the participants. Understanding the coping strategies they employed successfully in their academic endeavors as well as the influence of the undergraduate educational experiences in preparing students for graduate school have been neglected issues. Except for biographical accounts, few studies have examined the experiences and captured the thoughts and feelings of Black scholars as they find their way in White academe. This study examined the subjective experiences of Black scholars as graduate students, their perceptions of how well their undergraduate educational experiences prepared them for graduate school in White academe, as well as the strategies these scholars employed in successfully completing their doctoral degrees. In examining life after graduate school, the study also identified the areas in which Black doctoral graduates have pursued their professional goals.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

This study is a qualitative inquiry into the educational and professional experiences of Black scholars and their strategies of survival at predominantly White educational institutions. Qualitative inquiry "begins with the assumption that human behavior is made up of thoughtful, meaningful responses to stimuli in the world. What something means to someone affects how the person will respond to the thing " (Taylor, 1992, p. 3). Taylor (1992) explained that qualitative research is any "systematic investigation that attempts to understand the meanings that things have for individuals from their own perspective" (p. 2). Qualitative method in the broadest sense "refers to research that produces descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior" (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984, p. 5).

Philosophically and methodologically, this study of Black scholars is influenced by phenomenology. The primary objective of phenomenological philosophy "is the direct investigation and description of phenomena as consciously experienced, without theories about their causal explanation and as free as possible from unexplained preconceptions and presuppositions" Spiegelberg's study (cited in Stanage, 1987, p. 43). Bogden and Bilkin (1992) explained that researchers in the phenomenological mode "attempt to understand the meaning of events and interactions to ordinary people in particular situations" (p. 34). As a research methodology phenomenology is both descriptive and qualitative (Polkinghorne, 1989). But its focus is on the subjects' experienced meaning instead of on descriptions of their overt

actions or behaviors (Polkinghorne, 1989). "Phenomenological research consists of reflectively bringing into nearness that which tends to be obscure, that which tends to evade the intelligibility of our natural attitude of everyday life" (van Manen, 1984, p. 41).

The method of phenomenological research as laid out by van Manen (1984) may be seen as a dynamic interplay of six research activities. The activities are:

1. turning to a phenomenon which seriously interests us and commits us to the world;
2. investigating experience as we live it rather than as we conceptualize it;
3. reflecting on the essential themes which characterize the phenomenon;
4. describing the phenomenon through the art of writing and rewriting;
5. maintaining a strong and oriented relation to the phenomenon; and
6. balancing the research context by considering parts and the whole.

(p. 30-31)

In seeking to understand the experience of scholars in White academe, this study examined the experiences recalled from the perspective of the participants. The study, within the confines of language, sought to illuminate the meaning and impact of these experiences.

The Researcher's Role

Research conducted from a phenomenological perspective requires an attitude of openness to the phenomenon as it presents itself (Giorgi, 1983). Lancy (1993) explains that the researcher using the phenomenological approach

avoids, as much as possible the use of assumptions about the phenomenon under study; avoids reducing complex reality to a few "variables" and minimizes the use of instruments that are reactive and that greatly influence the reality she or he is trying to study. (p. 9)

The researcher becomes the main instrument, observing, asking questions, and interacting with the research participants (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). "The researcher is also the interpreter who draws on their own experiences, knowledge, theoretical dispositions, and collected data to present their understanding of the other's world" (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992, p. 153).

Bracketing

Bracketing is a term used in phenomenological research to indicate the impossibility of the researcher being separated from their own worldview. All persons have experiences that color their perceptions and affect the ways they understand and interpret phenomena. Merleau-Ponty (1962) pointed to the impossibility of stepping outside of one's own history. Gadamer (1975) explained that "the important thing is to be aware of one's own bias so that the text may represent itself in all its newness and thus be able to assert its own truth against one's foremeanings" (p. 254).

I bring to this study my own set of experiences as an African American woman doctoral student at a predominantly White university. Having also attended a predominantly White university for my undergraduate education and having worked for nine years in corporate America, I have had a myriad of experiences interacting with the White culture. Having completed elementary and high school in Black cultural settings, my transition into a White educational culture added a different

dimension to my minority status. I suddenly became very visible. While this was not objectionable to me, my unsolicited visibility reinforced the feeling that I had a responsibility to my race. I had to do well!

The biases that I have reflect not only race but regional differences. I am a Northerner. Like the participants of this study, I also attend a predominantly White university in the South. The difficulties that I have encountered and have had to overcome while a doctoral student encompass both race and geographical cultural differences. My ability to adapt to what has been, for me, a very different and at times difficult environment has depended on an inner strength and a motivation fueled by those closest to me.

As I reflect on my experiences in White academe, I can identify factors that have been instrumental in my academic, social, and mental survival. While providing a level of insight which may not be available to a White researcher, I recognized the constant need to question how my experiences might color the analysis and interpretation of the data.

While conducting the study, my experiential proximity to the accounts shared by the doctoral graduates revealed itself during the interviews. A number of times I caught myself failing to probe the interviewees on experiences they recounted that were close to my own. These were experiences I knew so well that, initially, further inquiry seemed unnecessary. Realizing that an explanation of events they recounted needed to come from the interviewees, I found it necessary, in a number of cases, to back track and ask them to elaborate on a comment made earlier in the interview.

Participants

The population examined are Black scholars who completed their doctoral degrees at a large, predominantly White, southeastern United States university. Because the study seeks to examine the experiences of those doctoral graduates who completed terminal academic degrees within the context of the university at large, the graduates from the university's law school, veterinary medicine, comparative and experimental medicine, the biomedical sciences, and aerospace engineering are not included in the study. The veterinary medicine and law degrees are professional degrees in programs that are self-contained and arguably culturally unique. In the case of veterinary medicine, the program is physically removed from the main campus. While the biomedical sciences, comparative and experimental medicine and aerospace engineering degrees are academic degrees, their programs are also physically removed from the main campus; their facilities are at different sites. Though there have been a number of works that examine the law school experience from the students' perspectives (see Turow, 1977; Daniels, 1979; Knight, 1990; Williams, 1996), few studies have examined students' experiences in veterinary medicine, biomedical sciences, comparative and experimental medicine and aerospace engineering. The decision not to include these fields was based on the assumption that these programs are best examined in separate studies which consider their uniqueness in the context of mainstream university life.

The names of the doctoral recipients were obtained from the many departments of the university that offer doctoral programs. A letter requesting the names of African Americans who completed their doctorates at the university were mailed to professors in every doctoral degree granting program (See Appendix 1). The names of professors were obtained from the university's Graduate Records Office which

maintains a listing of professors who are qualified to direct doctoral research. Those professors qualified to direct doctoral research are most likely to have chaired or served as committee members on a greater number of committees in their departments than those who are not approved to direct doctoral research. The letters requesting the names and approximate graduation dates of African American students were mailed to 865 professors, including 138 retired professors. Four hundred and seventy-nine professors responded, providing 163 names. The university's office of student data also has records of former graduate students. Records which include phone numbers and addresses for graduates are accurate only from 1988 to the present. During the interview process a few of the doctoral graduates volunteered the names of other Black graduates with whom they matriculated. One graduate identified her father who was one of the first Black doctoral graduates and whose name had not been identified by any other source.

The names provided by the professors as well as those provided by the office of student data included the names of several foreign students of African descent. While the study focuses primarily on American born persons of African descent, the experiences of foreign born Blacks were also examined. It is important to note that the number of Black doctoral graduates presented in this study is not definitive. The numbers here reflect the recollections and/or unofficial records of others and the university's records which, until 1988, did not maintain accurate records by race and ethnicity.

Those doctoral graduates identified as foreign born were asked to identify the countries in which they were born and raised on the questionnaire mailed to them. For those who did not respond to the questionnaire, or those for whom addresses could not be found, the countries of origin were identified by examining the biographical sections of their dissertations.

Fifty-three foreign born Black doctoral graduates were identified. Having been born and raised in the Caribbean, on the African continent, and in South America, the largest percent of the foreign born Black doctoral graduates are from the African continent, the next largest group is from the Caribbean (see Table 3). The graduation dates of the students provided by the professors were confirmed by the university's library on-line catalog system. The catalog system includes all dissertation studies conducted by the university's doctoral graduates and provides the author's name, title of study, degree awarded, discipline, the year that their dissertation was accepted and all of the requirements for the doctoral degree met.

The university's historian was contacted and the names of some of the earlier Black doctoral graduates were obtained. The historical records included the names of seven Black doctoral graduates. The first Ph.D. earned by an African American at the university was awarded in 1959. All names provided by the historian were investigated. The former students that were identified and located were asked to participate in the study.

The university has awarded a total of 7630 doctoral degrees since it awarded it's first doctorate in 1886 (see Table 4). Based on the information provided by the university historian, the university's professors, the office of student data, the universities Black Alumni Association and some of the doctoral graduates interviewed, 224 Blacks, both American and foreign born, completed their doctorates at the university between 1959 and 1995 (see Table 5). This number constitutes 2.9% of the total number of doctoral graduates from the institution and 3.0% of the total number of graduates since 1959 when the first Ph.D. earned by an African American at the university was awarded. The Black doctoral graduates are most heavily

Table 3

Doctoral Degrees Awarded by the University to Blacks by Nationality 1959-1995

Nationality	Number of Participants
African Americans	171
Africans	39
Islanders of the Caribbean	13
South Americans	1
Total	224

represented in the field of education, as has historically been the case. (see Tables 6 and 7). It is interesting that approximately 30 percent of the doctoral graduates conducted dissertation research that was either directly or indirectly related to the Black experience. Studies examining school desegregation, health issues affecting Blacks, and Black literature are examples of the research conducted. One-half of the studies examining the Black experience were conducted by education majors.

This study examines graduates from 1959 to 1995. Current addresses of the prospective participants of the study were obtained from the university's alumni association, the university's Office of Student Data, and the National Directory of College Professors. Other sources consulted were the biographies included in dissertations and city telephone directories.

The initial contact was by a letter to the potential participants describing the study and asking for their participation (see Appendix 2). A questionnaire was also enclosed (see Appendix 3). The letter asked potential participants, if they agreed, to fill out the questionnaire and return it in the self-addressed stamped envelope by the date indicated. One hundred and ninety-six questionnaires were mailed and 56

Table 4

Doctoral Degrees Awarded by the University by Year 1886-1995

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1886	1	1953	43	1975	253
1887*	1	1954	42	1976	262
1933	1	1955	48	1977	235
1934	0	1956	48	1978	257
1935	0	1957	46	1979	223
1936	0	1958	34	1980	204
1937	2	1959	55	1981	239
1938	0	1960	40	1982	238
1939	0	1961	53	1983	193
1940	0	1962	76	1984	223
1941	0	1963	86	1985	204
1942	0	1964	77	1986	222
1943	0	1965	99	1987	221
1944	0	1966	94	1988	234
1945	0	1967	148	1989	208
1946	0	1968	178	1990	204
1947	3	1969	219	1991	240
1948	1	1970	254	1992	268
1949	7	1971	237	1993	234
1950	15	1972	276	1994	242
1951	28	1973	266	1995	274
1952	26	1974	248	TOTAL	7630

(Lopez and Lacava, 1996)

*The doctoral programs were abolished in 1889 because of lack of interest. The university's Board of Trustees approved the Ph.D. program in Biological Sciences in 1929. The university's first doctorate of the twentieth century was awarded in 1933 (Lopez, 1990).

Table 5

Number of Doctoral Degrees Awarded to Blacks 1959-1995

Year	Number
1959	1
1960	0
1961	1
1962	0
1963	1
1964	1
1965	0
1966	0
1967	0
1968	1
1969	3
1970	3
1971	5
1972	6
1973	7
1974	1
1975	5
1976	12
1977	7
1978	13
1979	9
1980	8
1981	11
1982	8
1983	10
1984	14
1985	9
1986	8
1987	5
1988	9
1989	7
1990	10
1991	15
1992	9
1993	7
1994	7
1995	11
Total	224

Table 6

Number of Doctoral Degrees Awarded to Blacks by Academic Fields Examined

1959-1995

Colleges	Doctoral Graduates
Education	110
Arts and Sciences	55
Agricultural Science and Natural Resources	19
Human Ecology	15
Engineering	7
Business Administration	6
Social Work	5
Communications	4
Intercollegiate*	3
Nursing**	0
Total	224

* Ecology majors

** The Ph.D in Nursing was instituted in 1989.

Table 7

Number of Doctorates Awarded to Blacks by Majors Within All Fields of Study
1959-1995

Majors Within Academic Departments	Doctoral Graduates
College of Agricultural Science and Natural Resources	19
Agricultural Economics	4
Agricultural Engineering	2
Animal Science	5
Food Science and Technology	4
Plant and Soil Science	4
College of Arts and Sciences	55
Anthropology	0
Audiology	1
Biochemistry	2
Botany	1
Chemistry	6
Computer Science	0
English	5
Geography	1
Geology	1
History	0
Mathematics	0
Microbiology	4
Modern Foreign Languages	0
Philosophy	0
Physics	0
Political Science	5
Psychology	21
Sociology	4
Speech and Hearing	1
Zoology	3
College of Business Administration	6
Business Administration	1
Economics	3
Management Science	2
College of Communications	4
Communications	4

College of Education	55
Adult Education	2
Curriculum and Instruction	22
Education**	14
Educational Administration	32
Educational Psychology	19
Health Education***	15
Human Performance and Sport Studies	2
Human Resource Development***	0
Vocational and Technical Education***	4
College of Engineering	8
Aerospace Engineering*	1
Chemical Engineering	1
Civil Engineering	1
Electrical Engineering	1
Engineering Science	1
Mechanical Engineering	1
Metallurgical Engineering	0
Nuclear Engineering	2
Polymer Engineering	0
College of Human Ecology	15
Human Ecology	15
College of Law*	165
Law	165
Nursing	0
Nursing	0
College of Social Work	5
Social Work	5
College of Veterinary Medicine*	7
Veterinary Medicine	7
School of Biomedical Studies*	6
Biomedical Sciences	6
Intercollegiate	3
Comparative and Experimental Medicine*	0
Ecology	3
Industrial and Experimental Psychology	0
Life Sciences	0

* Graduates from these disciplines are not included in the study as explained in the "Participants" section of this chapter.

** Includes non-designated specialties in education

*** Programs moved to Human Ecology circa 1994

completed questionnaires were returned. Follow-up letters were mailed three weeks and five weeks after the initial mailing urging the participants to complete and mail the questionnaires (see Appendix 4). As a result, thirty-one additional questionnaires were returned for a total of 88 returned questionnaires. The respondents were also asked in the questionnaire whether or not they would agree to a follow-up interview. Once the questionnaires were received, some of the respondents who indicated their willingness to be interviewed were contacted. The details of the study were described and an interview date, time, and place (when applicable) were arranged. Forty-eight participants were interviewed.

Confidentiality

To maintain confidentiality, no references to participants' names or institutions are made in the study. Audio tapes, notes, and other documents remain in the researcher's possession and are stored in a confidential, secure location.

The Setting

Founded in the late 18th century, the university is a large, public, predominantly White, research and landgrant institution in the Southeastern United States. Often referred to as the flagship university of the state system, it had a student population of approximately 25,000 as of 1995. The African American student population is about 1200 or 5 percent of the total student population. Though the university admitted its first Black graduate student in 1952, it was not officially integrated until the early 1960s. Like many major colleges and universities, it experienced rapid growth during the 1970s and early 1980s when enrollment reached 30,000 (Bradley, 1995). The

university approved its first doctoral degree program in 1879. The first doctorate was awarded to an African American in 1959.

Serving as a major employer in the area, the university is located in a moderate sized city which can be best described as a large "college town." The city's population is roughly 173,000 with African Americans making up about 14.5% of the city's population. The city, like many others in the US, is polarized by race. Perhaps reinforced by tradition, there is a "place" for Blacks, geographically and economically. The university attracts people from other parts of the country as well as from other countries. Those from other places describe the local inhabitants as close knit.

Another prominent aspect of the culture is the university's strong athletic tradition. The institution has one of the largest Division I athletic programs in the country. Signing its first African American football player in 1967, the university is in a conference that was "the last major intercollegiate athletic league to desegregate" (Epling, 1994, p. 1). Like other similar institutions, the football team is now made up predominantly of Black students, a situation not reflected in any other aspect of university life.

Methods of Data Collection

Questionnaires

A questionnaire was developed to obtain demographic data as well as to ask initial questions about the Black scholars' experiences in White academe (see Appendix 3). The questionnaire was refined by incorporating suggestions solicited from committee members and others. Four Black professors who received their doctorates from other predominantly White institutions were asked to examine the cover letter, complete the questionnaire and offer suggestions for improvements.

Based on the quality of responses the questionnaire elicited and feedback from the Black professors, revisions to the questionnaire and cover letter were made.

Records indicated that six of the 224 Black doctoral graduates are deceased. Addresses were found for 197 of the remaining 218 doctoral graduates (see Table 8). The cover letter, questionnaire and stamped self-addressed envelope were mailed to each of the 197 doctoral graduates. The graduates were asked to return the completed questionnaire within two weeks. Reminders were mailed three and five weeks after the questionnaire was mailed out. Eighty-eight completed questionnaires were returned for a 45 percent return rate. Sixteen questionnaires were returned undeliverable and 3 were returned with notes explaining that the former students are deceased, bringing the total of deceased graduates to 9 (see Table 9). Forty-five women and forty-three men completed the questionnaires. The respondents represented the major academic programs across four decades (See Tables 10 and 11). The completed questionnaires were examined and the responses were used as data for developing probing questions that were asked during the follow-up interviews.

Table 8

Doctoral Graduates' Addresses

Graduate	Number
Address Found	197
Address Not Found	21
Deceased	6
Total	224

Table 9

Response to Questionnaire

Questionnaires	Number
Mailed	197
Completed and Returned	88
Returned Undeliverable	16
Deceased Graduates	3
Not Returned	90

Table 10

Number of Completed Questionnaires by Gender and Decade

Decade	Women	Men	Total
1960s	1	1	2
1970s	8	13	21
1980s	16	17	33
1990s*	20	12	32
Total	45	43	88

Note: *The 1990s represent graduates only through December 1995.

Table 11

Completed Questionnaires by Gender and Discipline

Colleges/Disciplines	Women	Men	Total
Agricultural Science and Natural Resources	1	6	7
Arts and Sciences	6	10	16
Business Administration	1	3	4
Communications	1	1	2
Education	23	21	44
Engineering	1	3	4
Human Ecology	6	0	6
Social Work	3	0	3
Intercollegiate	1	1	2
Total	43	45	88

Interviews

Open-ended interviews were conducted to gain deeper insights into the subjective educational experiences of the participants. Pollio, Henley and Thompson (1992) describe the phenomenological interview as "an almost inevitable procedure for attaining a rigorous and significant description of the world of everyday human experience as it is lived and described by specific individuals in specific circumstances" (p. 40). To gather more in-depth information on the Black scholars' experiences and coping strategies, interview schedules were developed for each interview. Taking cues from the responses on the questionnaires, questions such as "What was that like?" or "How did you feel when that happened?" facilitated dialogue that evoked descriptions during the interviews (Pollio, Henley and Thompson, 1992). Seventy-eight of the 88 participants agreed to be interviewed. Forty-eight interviews

were conducted. During initial telephone conversations, the details of the study were described and an interview date, time, and place (when applicable) were arranged. Depending on the location of the participants, interviews were conducted by phone or in person. Six interviews were conducted in person and 42 by telephone. The interviews averaged 50 minutes. In selecting participants to interview gender, discipline, and percent of the Black graduate student population per decade were considered (see Tables 12 - 15). Nationality was another factor. Foreign born Blacks comprise 24 percent of the total population of Black doctoral graduates. Ten foreign born graduates were interviewed, representing 21 percent of the population interviewed. Twenty-two women and 26 men were interviewed. Though 78 respondents agreed to be interviewed, only 42 interviews were initially conducted. Glesne and Peskin explain that, ideally, data collection should stop when successive examination of sources yields redundancy (p. 132). After about the 37th interview the subsequent interviews provided no new data.

Participants who agreed to be interviewed but were not interviewed were mailed a letter and a self-addressed stamped postcard. The letter explained that a sufficient number of interviews had been conducted but that any additional input they would like to contribute would be welcome (see Appendix 5). Six people responded to the letter and were interviewed, bringing the total number of interviews to 48.

Data Analysis Procedures and Interpretation

In the phenomenological tradition, thematic data analysis was employed. The analysis were conducted primarily by identifying common structures of the particular experience; and these provide the researcher with "our understanding of the

Table 12

Number of Black Doctoral Graduates by Gender and Decade 1950s - 1990s

	Women	Percent	Men	Percent	Total
1950s	0	00%	1	00%	1
1960s	1	14%	6	86%	7
1970s	27	40%	41	60%	68
1980s	40	45%	49	55%	89
1990s*	32	56%	26	44%	59
Total	101	45%	122	55%	224

Table 13

Participants Interviewed by Gender and Decade

	Women	Percent	Men	Percent	Total
1960's	1	50%	1	50%	2
1970's	4	33%	8	67%	12
1980's	9	45%	11	55%	20
1990's	8	57%	6	43%	14
Total	22	43%	26	57%	48

* The 1990's represent graduates only through December 1995.

Table 14

Number of Black Doctoral Graduates by Gender and Discipline 1959-1995

Colleges/Disciplines	Women	Men	Total
Agricultural Science and Natural Resources	3	16	19
Arts and Sciences	24	31	55
Business Administration	0	6	6
Communications	2	2	4
Education	49	61	110
Engineering	1	6	7
Human Ecology	13	2	15
Nursing	0	0	0
Social Work	4	1	5
Intercollegiate	1	2	3
Total	97	127	224

world" (van Manen, 1990, p. 101). Thematic data analysis has been described as a "form of capturing the phenomenon one tries to understand" (van Manen, 1990, p. 87).

The process of capturing the phenomenon or identifying the common structures of the doctoral graduates experiences, employed hermeneutical interpretation. Derived from Hermeneutics, loosely defined as the theory or philosophy of the interpretation of meaning (Bleicher, 1990), the purpose of hermeneutical interpretation is to "obtain a valid and common understanding of the meaning of the text" (Kvale, 1996, p. 46). In the hermeneutical interpretation process, the interpretation of meaning is characterized by a hermeneutical circle (Kvale, 1996). Kvale explains:

Table 15

Participants Interviewed by Gender and Discipline

Colleges/Disciplines	Women	Men	Total
Agricultural Science and Natural Resources	0	3	3
Arts and Sciences	3	8	11
Business Administration	0	1	1
Communications	1	1	2
Education	11	12	23
Engineering	1	1	2
Human Ecology	2	0	2
Social Work	2	0	2
Intercollegiate	1	1	2
Total	21	27	48

The understanding of text takes place through a process in which the meaning of the separate parts is determined by the global meaning of the text, as it is anticipated. The closer determination of the meaning of the separate parts may eventually change the originally anticipated meaning of the totality, which again influences the meaning of the separate parts, and so on. (Kvale, p. 47)

While this circular interpretive process is, in principle, an infinite one, the process ends when a sensible meaning has been reached, a valid unitary meaning, free of inner contradictions (Kvale, 1996, p. 47).

Though there are various techniques for analyzing data, Creswell (1994) states that in phenomenological research, the steps for data analysis "are less structured and more open to alternative procedures" (p. 157). Polkinghorne (1989) provided an outline of steps developed by van Kaam and those developed by Colaizzi in the

analytic process. van Kaam recommends (1) classifying data into categories; (2) transforming the categories into more precise descriptive terms; (3) eliminating statements that are not inherent to the experience of feelings understood; (4) identifying the hypothesis; (5) applying the hypothesis; (6) validating the application.

The steps outlined by Colaizzi include (1) read all protocols to acquire a feel for them; (2) extract phrases or sentences that pertain to the experience; (3) transform phrases into the words of the researcher; (4) extract the meaning of each protocol statement; (5) cluster individual themes to produce a further reduction into general themes; (6) the researcher then asks the subject, "How do my descriptive results compare with your experiences?" and "Have any aspects of your experience been omitted." Colaizzi's study (as cited in Polkinghorne, 1989)

The technique used in this study have taken from the process as outlined by both van Kaam and Colaizzi. As data were analyzed from both the narrative sections of the questionnaires as well as the transcripts, initial categories were established to identify and organize those portions of text relevant to the study. Those categories included: general difficulties, race related difficulties, gender issues, strategies for dealing with difficulties, strategies for dealing with race related difficulties, relationships, undergraduate experiences, university policies and programs, professional experiences, and other. Data were sorted and organized under the above categories. Each category of text was analyzed through the process of reading, re-reading and reflecting on the data. The themes, concepts or patterns that emerged have been identified and are discussed.

Though the themes, concepts and patterns were identified after thorough analysis of the data, they began to emerge during the interview process. One of the first concepts that appeared important in the experiences and strategies of the graduates was the importance of mentors and family and the sense of history that graduates carry

with them. A bit more subtle but, nonetheless, apparent was a consistency in the mindset regarding race, a mindset that helped the graduates to maintain positive self regard.

In interpreting the data, or as Wolcott (1994) states, to determine "what is to be made of it all?" (p. 12), the meaning of the themes, patterns and concepts were examined. Their link to theory, previous studies and historical accounts were investigated and explained to arrive at some understanding of the phenomenon. Those participant perspectives and experiences that provided insightful and powerful examples of the experiences, feelings and coping strategies of the Black graduates were highlighted.

Trustworthiness

When interpreting data the question of validity or trustworthiness of the data arises as the question of whether the reader adopting the worldview articulated by the researcher can see textual evidence supporting the interpretation (Polkinghorne, 1989). Another criterion of trustworthiness from the phenomenological perspective is in the participants' responses to the report (Giorgi, 1983). After the interviews were transcribed, they were edited to correct typographical and punctuation errors and to resolve confusing statements without in any way altering the content of the discussions. Each participant interviewed was mailed a cover letter with a copy of their transcribed interview, a copy of the informed consent form for their files, and a stamped self-addressed envelope (see Appendices 6 and 7). The participants were asked to review the transcripts to ensure that what was written accurately captured their thoughts and feelings. They were encouraged to edit the transcripts as needed. Twenty-three transcripts were returned with minor editing. The revisions were

generally grammatical. In one case a participant reintroduced names where, to ensure confidentiality, they were originally left out. Three people omitted portions of their transcripts and one added a note saying, "The language could be better but otherwise, O.K."

An experienced qualitative researcher, one knowledgeable of the phenomenological method, reviewed approximately half of the protocols (which revealed neither names nor institutions) and identified possible themes. The previously identified themes were compared with those of the outside researcher's. After discussion and further analysis, the previously developed themes were refined and utilized.

Theoretical Considerations

Theory in this study provided frameworks for the interpretation of the findings relative to coping strategies and the graduates' experiences of race. I brought to this study a theoretical disposition that also informs the analysis and interpretation of the data. LeCompte and Goetz (1984) explain: "Any inquiry process, scientific or otherwise, is affected...by a researcher's personal history and the general sociocultural frameworks and philosophical traditions which he or she lives" (p. 122). My theoretical framework includes perspectives on culture that reflect my history of experiences as a Black woman in America living both inside and outside of White culture. In understanding the experiences of those who are "outsiders" in the world of White academe, the literature addresses the sociocultural and psychological variables that influence the way people understand and engage their worlds. Different perspectives on culture and their implications for the experiences of African Americans

provide a framework for understanding the differences that help shape the meaning of experiences in the lives of minority populations.

Perspectives on Culture

In examining the interactive context between the African American scholar and mainstream institutions of higher education, the question of culture invariably comes into play. Culture encompasses the process by which a group engages its environment and meets its needs. It includes a set of rules and procedures, together with a supporting set of ideas and values. "Culture is everything that is socially learned and shared by the members of a society. The individual receives culture as part of his social heritage" (Horton and Hunt, 1964, p. 78). Wilson (1978) explains that "culture is a purposive system of behavior norms, values, attitudes, etc., which its members follow unthinkingly and by force of habit" (pp. 161-162). African Americans, while members of the larger American culture, are socialized in the culture of the African American family and community - a culture which some argue has maintained some distinct differences (Herskovits, 1938, 1955; Nobles, 1972, 1974; Asante, 1987). These differences, they argue, derive from a different philosophical orientation, one rooted in West African cultures and traditions.

The history of the African American in America is basically the story of how a powerless race invented, revised, adapted, and employed strategies in effort to achieve the rights and security inherent in American citizenship (Thompson, 1974). Efforts by Blacks to improve their social, economic, and political status has been met with resistance, "from dissuasion by powerful Whites to the passage of enabling laws, to punitive extralegal measures and blatant mob violence" (Thompson, 1974, p. 3). The African-American's struggle for survival and equality began in 1619, when the first people of African descent were forcibly brought to Jamestown, Virginia. The status of

Blacks changed from indentured servants to slaves in 1661. Emancipated more than 200 years later, African Americans have lived ever since in a biracial society established on the doctrine of White supremacy (Thompson, 1974). The American doctrine of White supremacy is very much a factor of the larger culture in which the African American is socialized.

The Bi-cultural Personality

Culture is the context in which one's personality takes shape. Being socialized in what is essentially two different cultures, the African American must negotiate between two sometimes conflicting sets of ideals. Some believe that the conflicting ideals established in the African American psyche manifest themselves in personality traits peculiar to those socialized between cultures. Stonequist's (1961) concept of the Marginal Personality examines those individuals who fall between cultures. He explains that marginal personalities develop whenever there are cultural transitions or cultural conflicts and they are "most clearly portrayed in those individuals who are unwittingly initiated into two or more historical traditions, languages, political loyalties, moral codes, or religions" (Stonequist, 1961, p. 3). Stonequist explains that if the cultural differences or conflicts include sharp contrasts in race, and if the social attitudes are hostile, "the problem of the individual whose sentiments and career are bound up with both societies may well be acute" (p. 3).

The marginal personality is formed once the individual experiences the group's conflict as a personal problem. Once the conflict of cultures is experienced, as Stonequist explains, this crisis experience is a shock:

The individual finds his [her] social world disorganized. Personal relations and cultural forms which he had previously taken for granted suddenly become problematic. He does not know quite how to act. There is a feeling

of confusion, of loss of direction, of being overwhelmed. (p. 141)

W.E.B. Du Bois, for example, exposed his feelings when as a child growing up with White children, a White classmate, a newcomer to his school, with a glance refused his gesture of friendship. After the incident, he explains:

it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil, I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination-time, or beat them at a foot-race, or even beat their stingy heads. Alas, with the years all this fine contempt began to fade; for the worlds I longed for, and all their dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine. But they should not keep these prizes, I said; some, all, I would wrest from them. Just how I would do it I could never decide: by reading law, by healing the sick, by telling the wonderful tales that swam in my head, --some way. With other Black boys the strife was not so fiercely sunny: their youth shrunk into tasteless sycophancy, or into silent hatred of the pale world about them and mocking distrust of everything White; or wasted itself in a bitter cry. Why did God make me an outcast a stranger in mine own house? (Du Bois, 1982, p. 44-45)

Stonequist (1961) points out that the crisis is not merely a simple incidence of discrimination, for all have experienced discrimination in some form. The crisis experience affects the organization of one's life and future career. It defines the individual's place in the world in a way he or she had not anticipated. It delimits a

person's present and future in terms of career, ideals and aspirations, and one's innermost conception of self. "And it is a shock because his previous contacts have led him to identify himself with the cultural world which now refuses to accept him" (Stonequist, 1961, p. 144).

Another cultural personality trait of those existing between two cultures is seeing and understanding themselves from two viewpoints. Some African Americans see themselves from the viewpoint of Whites as well as from the viewpoint of Blacks. Stonequist explains that with "the contempt or prejudice of the one conflicting with the self-respect and demand for loyalty of the other-- the individual experiences conflict." (1961, p. 145). The individual develops a bi-cultural perspective, a dual personality, of sorts, to which W.E.B. Du Bois spoke in his concept of the double consciousness:

The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels this twoness--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois, 1982, p. 45)

Cooley's 1922 analysis of the looking-glass self is also appropriate here since idea of the double consciousness is akin to placing oneself simultaneously between two looking-glasses, each presenting a sharply different image of the person. "The clash in the images gives rise to mental conflict as well as to a dual self consciousness and identification" (Stonequist, 1961, p. 146).

The dual personality developed out of a bi-cultural existence leaves the individual poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more societies.

Stonequist (1961) further explains that the individual finds him- or herself

reflecting in his [her] soul the discords of harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one which is often dominant over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations. (p. 8)

The dilemma that the African American faces is existing psychologically in America as an American and as an African when the qualities associated with being Black are not always rewarded in American society. The psychological consequences of existing between cultures sometimes takes its toll on the African American. The experiences of Black scholars in a predominantly White setting is an important illustration of this striving.

Afrocentrism

One perspective on culture relative to the lives of people of African descent derives from the Afrocentric paradigm. Afrocentrism is a paradigm for the framing, investigation, and interpretation of studies that examine the experiences of people of African descent. Rather than framing the experiences and analyses of all people from the standard paradigms developed from the standard European philosophies and worldview, Afrocentrism has its roots in African philosophy and seeks an understanding of the Black experience as an extension of African history and culture (Warfield-Coppock, 1990). In the examination of African Americans, Afrocentricism encourages descriptive and prescriptive measures in light of African history and

culture. Afrocentrism offers a perspective on culture that is centered in African philosophy and tradition. Though it has been argued that the Africans once enslaved and stripped of their native language (a carrier of culture) no longer maintained any of the African customs, behaviors, skills, attitudes, or values (Warfield-Coppock, 1990), others have substantially refuted that position (Herskovits 1938; 1955; Nobles, 1972, 1974; Asante, 1987; Myers, 1988). They have argued that the retention of "Africanisms" played a significant role in the way the African American moved through his/her existence.

The culture of the African American from an Afrocentric perspective is one greatly influenced by the African values and custom of cooperation, collective responsibility, and interdependence. This is in contrast with the Eurocentric perspective whose values are characterized by competition, individual rights, separateness, and independence (Nobles, 1980). The psychobehavioral modalities of the African American from the Afrocentric perspective are groupness, sameness, and commonality. From a Eurocentric worldview individuality, uniqueness and differences are what characterizes the psychobehavioral modalities (Warfield-Coppock, 1990).

Critical Theory

Politicizing the concept of culture, critical theory adds the dimensions of class, power, and conflict, in the analyses of the people and institutions and other social forms of a culture. The critical theorists hold that the dominant ideologies are reproduced in social institutions and through the power of human agency people change the course of events or the meaning of the events in their lives to rise above the powerlessness thrust upon them. The critical theorists' analyses and discourse point to the 'antagonistic relations' situated in the complex of socio-political institutions and

social forms that limit as well as enable human action (Giroux, 1981). Giroux explains that "culture is the instance of mediation between the society and its institutions such as schools and the experiences of those such as teachers and students who are in them daily" (Giroux, 1981, p. 27). In examining cultural/power relations, critical theory raises questions about the ways inequalities are maintained and challenged in school culture and the wider society (McLaren, 1989).

In examining the lives of Black scholars in the White institutions, critical theory offers a vehicle for examining and interpreting the experiences of Black scholars as they interact with a potent sociopolitical structure of American society - the predominantly White colleges and universities. The concept provides a frame for understanding human agency in the lives of Black scholars who have functioned, and still continue to function, in the sometimes oppressive and repressive structures operating in higher education.

Theories Examining Coping Strategies and the Experience of Race

The psychological framework of Optimal theory and the interdisciplinary theory of Everyday Racism are employed to understand the doctoral graduates' experiences of race as well as the psychological basis of the coping strategies they employed to combat racial indignities and to cope with difficulties of all types.

Optimal theory

In the Afrocentric tradition Optimal theory draws from the philosophy of African culture in understanding human psychological functioning through socially defined markers such as race, ethnicity, gender, and physical ability (Myers and Speight, 1994). The principles and tenets of Optimal theory assume the interrelatedness, interconnectedness, and interdependence of all humanity. The theory

assumes the importance of spirituality, highlights the strong sense of connection to others, and assumes self worth is intrinsic, independent of external form (Myers and Speight, 1994).

Presenting a conceptual system consistent with African thought, modern Western physics and Eastern philosophy, Myers and Speight (1994) explains that Optimal theory's emphasis on spirituality is a component that is "missing in most Western models of human functioning and development" (p. 102). The person operating at the optimal level acknowledges spirituality and seeks spiritual understanding and guidance in all aspects of life.

From the optimal perspective interrelatedness, interdependence, and cooperation characterize human relations (Myers and Speight, 1994). The individual's sense of self is not self contained, as Myers et al. (1991) explain, "the self is multidimensional, encompassing the ancestors, those yet unborn, nature and community" (p. 51). Those operating at a suboptimal level are often alienated from a sense of unity. "A sense of connection to others is lost and a proclivity for the oppression of others grow." From the suboptimal worldview individuals base their sense of themselves on material and other external criteria: "The chief problem is that identity is bound to individual form and disconnected from previous and future generations, nature and the community" (Myers and Speight, 1994, p. 103).

From the optimal perspective one's sense of worth is intrinsic; external factors do not define a person. In contrast, within a suboptimal framework the external realities inform faulty assumptions about an individual's true identity and influences human relationships. Speight, Myers, Cox & Highlen (1991) explain:

Because worth is not intrinsic, individuals are left to rely on external realities for feelings of self worth. Hence one's skin color, class, sex, age physical or

mental abilities, income, education, occupation, and ethnicity all become critical factors in defining individuals. (p. 31)

A suboptimal worldview promotes "dichotomous thinking in hierarchical terms (either this or that is better)." For example, "White skin or male gender become criteria that automatically make some better. This approach to life creates societal 'isms'" (Myers and Speight, 1994, p. 105).

Optimal theory provides a framework for not only understanding the coping resources used by the Black scholars in response to difficulty but for understanding the basis for people's response to socially defined differences. Chapter five will discuss the study's race related findings in light of Optimal theory.

Everyday Racism

The interdisciplinary theory of Everyday Racism lays out the structure of racism in presenting its manifestations in the lives of Black people. Essed (1991) explains that racism as a process "is routinely created and reinforced through everyday practices" (p. 2). Racism in everyday situations, through cognitive and behavioral practices, "contributes to the development and perpetuation of a system in which Whites dominate Blacks" (p. 39). Based on a study examining racism in the lives of middle class Black women in America and in the Netherlands Essed (1991) examines how processes of marginalization, containment, and problematization, which are interrelated components of racism, are made operative in their everyday lives. The author defines everyday racism as

a process in which (a) socialized racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable, (b) practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive, and (c) underlying racial and ethnic relations are actualized and reinforced through

these routine or familiar everyday situations. (p. 52)

Though Essed's study examines the experiences of Black women, she states:

It must be noted that the majority of the examples discussed are probably also part of the experience of Black men. Therefore, when I speak of Black women I do not necessarily imply that these forms of racism are directed against them alone. (p. 188)

Marginalization, a form of oppression, is a process in which "a sense of 'otherness' and peripherality is perpetuated and encouraged" (Brandt, 1986). As a function of marginalization, attempts by Blacks to move from the periphery to the center are thwarted, as they are often denied access to position of power and their experiences and perspectives are ignored (Essed, 1991). Containment, a form of repression, occurs when the dominated group's attempts to pursue equality, justice and power are suppressed by the dominant group. The process of problematization is what Essed (1991) describes as "ideological constructions legitimizing exclusion and repression of opposition." These constructions serve to rationalize the marginalization of Black values and culture as well as "exclude Blacks from access to material and non-material resources" (p. 114). The processes of marginalization, containment, and problematization are interrelated and are operationalized in everyday routines.

In examining how the forces of marginalization, containment and problematization, or how oppression, repression and legitimization are made operative in the everyday lives of Blacks, Essed (1991) examines the dominance of Euro-American values that are manifest in promoting White as the norm and in the objectification, cultural denigration, and control of Blacks. The dominance of Euro-American values also promote the perpetuation of exclusion and subordination of those

who are not Euro-American through segregation and nonacceptance, underestimation, impeding pursuits of personal and group interests, undermining opposition to structural subordination, patronizing and expecting gratitude, denial of dignity, intimidation, and retaliation. Other components of everyday racism are manifested in the failure of Whites to take responsibility for racism, their disqualification of opponents of racism and their tolerance of racism.

The race related experiences of the Black scholars in White academe will also be examined in Chapter five, and the theory of Everyday Racism will provide a framework for understanding the types of racial indignities that the doctoral graduates sometimes had to contend.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS: GENERALIZED EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Findings presented in this chapter include the demographics of the participants, their reasons for earning the doctorate, their undergraduate preparation, graduate school experiences and areas in which they have pursued their careers. The study's findings are related to the literature cited in earlier chapters.

The Participants

Eighty-eight doctoral graduates completed the questionnaire. Forty-eight of the respondents were interviewed, of those interviewed, 68 percent were born and raised in the southern United States. Having been born between the 1920s and the 1960s, their experiences as African Americans range from growing up with racial segregation, to experiencing the pain of integration, to growing up in racially mixed environments.

While the study focuses primarily on American born persons of African descent, ten of the participants interviewed were born and raised in other countries: five in the West Indies and five on the African Continent. There were seven foreign born men and three women. Of the 48 participants interviewed, 42 were first generation college graduates. Sixty percent were married while pursuing their degrees (see Table 16). The time from entering their doctoral programs to degree completion for all participants took from two to sixteen years. The median years enrolled in doctoral programs by decade are 4 years for the 1960s and 1970s, 4 years for the

1980s, and 5 years for the 1990s (see Table 17). Twenty-three percent completed the dissertation process in one year or less; 41 percent in one to two years; 22 percent in two to three years and 15 percent completed it in three or more years (see Table 18).

Reasons for Earning the Doctorate

Reasons for earning the degree and its importance are reflected in how the participants see themselves and understand their role as scholars. Among the reasons given by the graduates, especially graduates in the 1960s and 1970s, were career advancement and providing a better quality of life for themselves and their families. Other reasons suggested a commitment to the goal of race advancement, of

Table 16

Demographic Information on Participants Interviewed

U.S. Born	Foreign Born	1st Generation College Grads	Married
no. %	no. %	no. %	no. %
38 79%	10 21%	42 88%	29 60%

Table 17

Median Years to Degree Completion by Decade

1960s and 70s Years	1980s Years	1990s Years
4	4	5

Table 18

Length of Dissertation Process

Time	Participants	Percent
1 year or less	20	23%
1 to 2 years	36	41%
2 to 3 years	19	22%
3 or more years	13	15%

seizing the opportunity to pursue one of their life's passions, and/or of fulfilling a goal established early in life.

In explaining that obtaining the doctorate would open the doors of professional advancement in the school district of his home town, one participant explained his goals upon entering the doctoral program:

I had witnessed that Black kids were not being taught and Black schools were not being dealt with fairly. Although we were in the process of desegregation, I was dedicated to raising the performance level of Black students, and raising the performance level of Black teachers. I wanted to do everything I could to assist Black teachers in becoming stronger and having more positive attitudes toward themselves as well as toward their students. That was my goal.

Another participant, initially indifferent to the idea of obtaining the doctorate, made this observation and decided to complete the program:

I was very idealistic in terms of what the Ph.D. meant. I was going to leave after my first semester when I saw that it was largely a political degree, that it's

all in who you're hooked up with and connected to. I figured for some of the things I wanted to do I didn't need a Ph.D. I sure wasn't going to waste the time that's required to put up with a lot of the hoop jumping. What literally changed my mind was the response that I saw from others, just based on the knowledge that I was working on the degree. Even as a Ph.D. candidate I saw how doors would open and how I was respected because of having the letters behind my name. Given the kind of work that I do, which is working in and among communities of color doing health programming, I realized that if the degree is largely about opening some doors and being accepted and heard, then I'm going to stay and get the degree. I will use it to open some doors and make a difference for the people that I'm working with.

The primary motivation for some was love for their work and an opportunity to pursue one of their life's passions. As one participant explained: "I always wanted to work with snakes and I discovered that the avenues for doing that are rather limited. It seemed like the Ph.D. was the way to do that." Another participant explained why the Ph.D. was important :

because I love doing research and I love asking questions. Asking questions about plants and the interesting things they can do, I can do forever....Designing experiments and carrying them out, doing the fieldwork and getting back the answers, it's enjoyable. One of the things that was always in the back of my mind was to do something in the tropics, sort of a save-the-rain-forest idealism and this is one way of accomplishing that.

The importance of the life of the mind and the intellectual opportunities that education would afford was part of how they defined their lives. One participant explained:

I think that it has always been my goal to acquire the ultimate degree in whatever profession I decided to go into. So getting the Ph.D. was just part of that....The degree obligates you to learn at a different level, because now you are at the very top of your profession, and in order to stay at a certain level in your profession, you have to really understand things in more detail. You become more analytical, more serious about issues that affect your professional career.

A third generation college graduate spoke of family expectations in explaining why obtaining the doctorate was important to her:

When I was growing up the Ph.D. or whatever the terminal degree was wasn't ever spoken about, it was just understood that you were going to college after high school; after college you went to graduate school to do a master's and after the master's you did your Ph.D....When I was a kid, probably fifth or sixth grade, I decided that I was going to do a Ph.D. in science....I really didn't think about why I would do it; you would just do it because it's the next step. You keep going until you finish, and finishing was at the Ph.D.

Undergraduate Educational Experiences

To understand the influence of undergraduate experiences on their graduate work, the participants were asked to assess their undergraduate academic preparation as well as how those experiences prepared them for graduate school. To assess the

similarities and/or differences in experiences of those participants who attended White undergraduate institutions and those who attended Black institutions, the responses of those who attended each type of institution were examined. In a study of the power of expectations, Fleming (1984) provides insights into this question. Examining the impact of predominantly White colleges and predominantly Black colleges on Black students, she identified variables that aid in the intellectual growth and academic success of Black students. Some of Fleming's findings are considered in the analysis of the undergraduate experiences of the participants in this study

Fifty-five percent of the participants attended predominantly Black undergraduate institutions in the U.S., while 41 percent attended predominantly White U.S. institutions. Four attended undergraduate institutions outside of the U.S. (see Table 19). Eighty-eight percent completed a master's degree while 10 percent went directly into doctoral programs after the bachelor's degree (see Table 20). Eighteen participants completed their master's at Black U.S. institutions, while fifty-nine completed their master's at predominantly White institutions (see Table 21).

Academic Preparation

Of the 48 participants who attended predominantly Black U.S. undergraduate institutions, 67 percent reported that they were well prepared for graduate studies. Twenty-seven percent reported that their undergraduate institutions prepared them adequately academically, while 6 percent reported that their institutions prepared them somewhat. Of the 36 who attended predominantly White undergraduate institutions, 67 percent reported that their institutions prepared them well academically. Twenty-six percent reported that their institutions prepared them adequately, while 6 percent reported that the predominantly White institutions prepared them somewhat (see Table 22).

Table 19

Undergraduate Institutions Attended

Institution	Participants	Percent
Black U.S Institutions	48	55%
White U.S. Institutions	36	41%
Foreign Institutions	4	5%

Table 20

Master's Degrees

	Participants	Percent
Earned Master's Degrees	77	88%
Enrolled Directly in Doctoral Program	9	10%
No-response	2	2%

Table 21

Master's Degree Institutions

Institution	Participants	Percent
Earned at Black U.S Institutions	18	23%
Earned at White U.S. Institutions	59	77%

Table 22

Undergraduate Academic Preparation

Responses	Black Institution	White Institution
Prepared me Well	67%	67%
Prepared me Adequately	27%	26%
Prepared me Somewhat	6%	6%
Did not Prepare me	--	--

When speaking of their academic preparation, some participants described activities that prepared them for graduate school. A participant who attended a predominantly White institution wrote: "My assignments and projects made me learn to use the library for research and to pull together multi-faceted projects. Many oral and written assignments helped." Another participant said that the predominantly Black institution he attended prepared him very well, though there were some limitations. "The lack of research by the faculty was a major shortcoming." Those participants who indicated that their undergraduate institutions somewhat prepared them cited limitations in facilities or their lack of training in a particular discipline. Having attended a predominantly White institution, one participant wrote: "Analytical instruments were scarce for a chemistry department." Another participant who attended a Black undergraduate institution wrote that the institution "failed to prepare me for chemistry."

The historic struggles of many Black institutions to stay financially afloat has been documented (see Robinson, 1940; Jones and Weathersby, 1978). Financial difficulties at Black undergraduate institutions attended by the participants did not

have, it appears, a major effect on the quality of academic preparation. Based on their responses, those who attended predominantly Black undergraduate institutions did not suffer academically compared to those who attended predominantly White institutions. Though three people cited limitations at the Black institutions they attended, e.g., limited facilities and equipment, the lack of research experience by some faculty, and a lack of variety in coursework, the percentages reflecting how well the participants felt their undergraduate institutions prepared them were virtually the same for both the Black and White institutions. In her comparative study examining student success in Black and in White institutions of higher learning, Fleming (1984) wrote: "Black colleges promote development in the academic and intellectual domain of experience. This kind of growth stands as a prominent feature of Black college impact precisely because it is one area in which Black colleges are expected to fail" (p. 62). In light of the sometimes inadequate funding at Black colleges, Fleming (1984) explains that most researchers would expect them to show evidence of "gross intellectual disservice to their students" (p. 62). She found, however, that those who attended Black colleges showed improvement on measures of academic functioning as well as strong gains in intellectual confidence from their freshman to senior years.

As the influences of undergraduate training were further considered, there appeared to be no correlation between the type of undergraduate school attended and median time to doctoral degree completion. The median time to degree completion for those who attended White undergraduate institutions and those who attended Black institutions was 4 years over the four decades examined. In examining the graduate school major by type of undergraduate institution attended, it appeared that Black undergraduate institutions produced the highest percentage of students who majored in education. The White undergraduate institutions produced a higher percentage of majors in the arts and sciences (see Table 23).

The high percentage of education majors produced by the Black undergraduate institutions is perhaps a reflection of the original purpose of many of these schools. Many southern Black schools trained Black teachers. Anderson (1988) explained that as the need for more Black teachers to train Black students was recognized in the early 1900s, nearly all of the Black institutions developed teacher training departments. "The supply of Black teachers depended almost entirely upon the Black secondary and normal schools and colleges" (p. 113). The further development of these institutions in the more rural areas of the South had as their purpose "To give instruction in home economics to girls; in agriculture to boys; and in teacher training to both" (p. 140).

Table 23

Doctoral Major by Type of U.S. Undergraduate Institution Attended

Colleges/Disciplines	Black Institution		White Institution		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	
Education	28	67%	14	33%	42
Arts and Sciences	7	39%	11	61%	18
Human Ecology	3	50%	3	50%	6
Agricultural Science and Natural Resources	5	100%	0	0%	5
Engineering	1	25%	3	75%	4
Business Administration	2	75%	1	25%	3
Social Work	2	75%	1	25%	3
Communications	1	50%	1	50%	2
Intercollegiate*	2	100%	0	0%	2

*Ecology Majors

Social and Psychological Preparation

Academics are only one aspect of the college experience. When participants were asked about other ways their undergraduate years prepared them for graduate studies, they identified the influence of professors, extracurricular activities, and lessons about race. These factors prepared them socially and psychologically for the graduate school experience. Among factors that failed to prepare them was, in one case, the lack of emphasis placed on graduate school. Speaking of her experiences at an historically Black undergraduate institution, one participant explained:

To the extent that the school was cognizant of the fact that many students would want to go to on and pursue graduate degrees they marginally touched on that. But as far as preparation for post-baccalaureate studies, being at the forefront of any classroom work or any voiced expectations, that just was not the case.

Another graduate of a predominantly Black undergraduate institution wrote that her undergraduate experience failed to prepare her for "the prejudice and stereotypical attitudes I encountered during graduate school."

The Influence of Professors.

The influence of professors during the undergraduate years played a crucial role in the lives of the graduates. Under the best circumstances they served as role models, mentors, and, in some cases, confidantes. The professors held high expectations for their students and challenged them to be the best. Their influence was crucial in providing what Fleming (1984) refers to as "The Supportive Community" (p. 150). In examining the education of Black undergraduate students, Fleming speaks of the need for a supportive campus community which includes a friendship

network composed not only of peers but of also role models, including teachers, staff members, and professional counselors. Though the participants did not say much about peer relationships during their undergraduate years, they did speak about role models and mentors. When asked about his preparation at a predominantly Black undergraduate college, one participant wrote:

I was able to see that my professors had acquired advanced degrees at prestigious universities. They were quite influential in helping me stay focused on career options. They helped to build my self-esteem and showed me how to succeed. Peer mentoring was a strong emphasis during my undergraduate years.

Another person added:

During my undergraduate studies, I received support and mentoring from my department head, director of honors program and his wife. These mentors took a special interest in me and helped me to develop and realize my goals...I was surrounded by a strong support system that helped me to develop my self-esteem, to believe in myself and my capabilities and to set and realize my goals for graduate school.

Some professors held high expectations for the students and affirmed their abilities. One woman who attended a predominantly Black undergraduate institution spoke of a Black professor whom she credits with helping to prepare her for graduate school:

I was a social science major, and the head of the sociology department at my undergraduate institution saw all of us as students who were going to graduate school. He would explain some of his requirements by saying, "You need to

learn how to write this paper. You need to learn how to do research" He is one of those people who didn't ask you, "Don't you think you want to do so-and-so?" It was, "I expect that you will do a terminal degree." There were quite a few of us who were sociology and social science majors. When we had a reunion about five or six years ago, we were all at a big round table, we had all been students of his and we all had terminal degrees.

A participant from a predominantly White undergraduate institution found a few people who believed in his abilities and challenged him to improve his skills. He encountered one of those people during his freshman year, a White female English instructor called "Captain" by students behind her back." She counseled him after grading his first paper and told him he needed to go to the writing lab to improve his skills. He described the discussion:

She sat me down and told me that I had the skills, the ability to be a very, very good college student. She said, "I am not going to make any short cuts for you. Whatever you get at this university, you will get because you earned it. Never let anyone tell you that you can't succeed in any course, I don't care what the course is. You may not have the skills, and you might eventually come to the determination that you can't do it, but you never allow anyone else, instructor, professor, never allow anyone else to tell you that you can't succeed.... That is not their call, that is your call."

He credits her as one of the people who helped him to understand that he could make it in college. He explained: "She planted that seed that helped me to realize that the undergraduate degree was only the starting point for me."

Extracurricular Activities

Participants also identified extra-curricular activities as another way that their undergraduate institutions prepared them. In her 1984 study Fleming, identified the opportunity to participate in campus life as a developmental need for the traditional undergraduate. She explains that "they must feel some connection with current goings-on" (p. 151). There must be opportunities to satisfy the need to participate, to be seen, and to be recognized. Black students need to have the opportunity to assume leadership roles in extracurricular activities to prepare them for the roles they are expected to assume in life.

One participant who attended a predominantly White institution, spoke of his role as a campus leader and how that experience prepared him for graduate school.

The opportunity and experiential feedback as a minority student leader brought me into close interaction with the administration, faculty, and student body whereby I was instrumental in helping to create a more rewarding climate for other minorities....Later these undergraduate experiences provided what I needed in facing the challenges of graduate school life whether of academic, intrapersonal or social nature.

Another participant who attended a predominantly Black undergraduate institution, wrote:

Through participation in extra-curricular activities...my undergraduate experiences prepared me well in developing personal, social and human relation skills. Membership in other activities such as the Business Club assisted in the development of my leadership skills.

In addition to providing opportunities for leadership and interpersonal skill development, some activities provided intellectual and cultural enrichment. One participant described the type of extracurricular activities that the Black undergraduate institution she attended offered:

We had what we called Religious Emphasis Week. That's when major theologians would come and do a week of sermons or speeches. I heard Dr. Martin Luther King; I heard Mordecai Johnson who was president of Howard then; I heard Benjamin Mays; I heard Howard Thurman. We just got exposed to those kinds of minds by attending those kinds of activities.

In examining the social and psychological factors the participants identified as important undergraduate experiences, there was a quantitative difference in the experiences of participants at White undergraduate institutions compared to those at Black institutions. It appeared there were more opportunities, or perhaps less reluctance, to interact with faculty and to participate in extracurricular activities at the Black institutions. The graduates from predominantly Black institutions also spoke more often of having role models and mentors during their undergraduate experiences. Twenty-three percent of those participants who attended Black institutions wrote about role models and/or mentors on their questionnaires compared to 11 percent of those who attended White undergraduate institution. Sixteen percent of those who attended Black institutions wrote about participation in extracurricular activities compared to 6 percent of those having attended White institutions. Fleming (1984) reports that because the Black college environment offers students a wider network of supportive relationships, despite their poorer resources, "Black colleges still possess the capacity to permit the expression of natural adolescent motivations for cognitive growth" (p. 150).

Lessons About Race

Lessons about race relations was another way the doctoral graduates reported that their undergraduate institutions prepared them for graduate school. For some, attending a predominantly White undergraduate institution provided their first significant experiences with Whites. One American born participant who had had little previous interaction with Whites explained:

The university provided me with an opportunity to be exposed to a predominantly White environment and to show myself and others that I could excel in any environment. I was afforded the opportunity to socialize with White Americans, to learn their culture.

Reporting that her K-12 education had been at all-Black schools, another participant wrote: "My experiences at my White undergraduate institution prepared me to function in a predominantly White graduate school environment."

For those who attended predominantly Black institutions, their lessons about race focused on survival strategies. Having grown up in the segregated South, one participant wrote that the predominantly Black undergraduate institution he attended prepared him to compete in a segregated world and with all types of people. Speaking of his instructors, most of whom happened to be White, he explained that "They gave us a feeling of self-esteem, that we could compete anywhere and that segregation was in society, but we didn't have to be segregated from within." One participant wrote that the Black instructors at his predominantly Black undergraduate institution offered advice for surviving in all areas of life, especially when it came to race. He wrote: "They schooled me on the stumbling blocks in life and how to avoid them. They stressed the importance of study and keeping a "cool head." Another participant explained that his experience at the predominantly Black undergraduate institution he

attended was "the best starting point for me because it did help to build confidence."

He wrote:

Being there helped me to build that awareness that no matter what happens you have what you need in dealing with situations. I think that helped me a lot. I might have experienced some things but because of that preparation I was able to overlook and just ignore them.

Those who attended predominantly Black institutions and those who attended predominantly White institutions reported experiences that affirmed their abilities and prepared them for graduate school. There were, however, different lessons about race that were experienced by those who attended predominantly White undergraduate institutions. Eight participants indicated that these lessons taught them about the politics of racism in the halls of White academe. Differences in the experiences of Black students who attended predominantly Black undergraduate institutions compared to those who attended predominantly White institutions have been cited in studies by Fleming (1984) and Hughes (1987). Examining students' success in Black and in White colleges and universities, Fleming (1984) found that Black students have special problems in predominantly White institutions not shared by White students. Based on the response of the students in her study, the problems for Black students are those of institutional abandonment, isolation, and bias in the classroom. She writes: "Unlike Black students, White students adjust well to the academic institution and have no complaints about alienation or unfairness in the classroom" (p. 136).

In her study examining Black students' participation in higher education, Hughes (1987) found that for Black students attending predominantly White institutions nurturance, confidence building, and positive identity formation are stifled

on these campuses. She adds: "An environment filled with prejudices, stereotypes provokes tentativeness, suspicion, restriction and harsh self examination" (p. 543).

In examining the experiences of Black students at predominantly Black institutions compared to those having attended Whites schools, Junod (1987) points out that at Black institutions "Black students are in the majority and temporarily relieved of the burden of race" (p. 117). In light of her experiences at a predominantly White institution, one participant explained:

I think every Black student needs to have the experience of going to an historically African American school. There you know that how you perform and what you do are based on your character and your intellect. At an HBCU you won't be questioned about whether the work you do is your own. We had students [African Americans] at the White college who would get A's on papers with little notes on them, "is this your own work?"

In identifying ways her experience at her predominantly White undergraduate institution prepared her for graduate study, one participant explained: "In terms of racism, it prepared me well. I attended a predominantly Black high school with few Whites. College taught me how to deal with White people and subtle racism." For some Black students at predominantly White undergraduate institutions survival meant more than just making the grade; there were the politics of race of which students had to be mindful. One participant explained why it was sometimes difficult being the only Black student in a class:

In all of my classes except for one, I was the only Black student and that was really difficult - when you are the only Black student in the class. A lot of it depended on the professor. If you had a professor that wasn't a racist then you tended to have a pretty positive experience. But if you had a professor

who was a real conservative kind of person then you knew that you would have a difficult time...I just did my work and tried to get out.

When asked how her undergraduate experiences at the predominantly White institution prepared her for graduate school, one participant explained that it was her first encounter with institutional and structural racism, and it prepared her in that respect. When prompted to discuss her experiences further, she spoke of the lessons she learned:

It just taught me a lot about how they [White people] think, particularly from the perspective of how they think about us academically, intellectually. It taught me much about their, in my view, split consciousness, from the perspective of talking one thing and doing another. There were folks who talked social justice and equality and the need for the races to come together, but their practices didn't support that. There were no Black faculty at this school, even though they said they had a strong commitment to try to find Black faculty and faculty of color.

In examining the undergraduate experiences of the doctoral graduates relative to their preparation for graduate studies, students who attended Black institutions as well as those who attended White institutions rated the schools as comparable in respect to academic preparation. Though a few participants cited deficiencies in facilities and course offerings at some Black colleges, the cognitive and intellectual development of students are not solely dependent on the activities or availability of resources that appear to have a direct impact on the learning experience. The positive influence of professors, the skills developed through extracurricular activities, and the lessons of race also contributed to their intellectual growth. These factors served to

instill the socialization tools and skills needed for adult life and affirmed their abilities which, in turn, contributed to their psychological well being. In describing how their undergraduate experiences prepared them for graduate school, the participants wrote that the experiences: "gave me confidence and self worth," "gave me self esteem," "fostered a healthy self concept, " "provided a sense of belonging," and "developed assurance and pride in self and race."

At both the White and Black institutions, participants experienced a sense of community, but a higher percentage of those who attended the Black institutions reported more opportunities for experiences that provided a supportive community. While some students found supportive communities on White campuses, in some cases racism at those institutions made it difficult for other students to experience a sense of a supportive community.

The Graduate School Experience

Like all doctoral students, the participants experienced the joys and pains of the graduate school experience. In talking about his relationships with other students, one participant summed up the doctoral experience by saying "it's like you're going through the crucible of fire together." The questionnaire asked about memories of the university as well as about difficulties encountered during the doctoral process. During the interviews, the participants elaborated on their experiences.

Memories of the University

In response to the questionnaire, when asked about memories of their experiences as advanced students at the university, 25 percent of the respondents had strongly positive memories; 53 percent reported that they have mainly positive

memories; 19 percent reported mixed memories; one respondent reported having negative memories and one respondent reported strongly negative memories (see Table 24).

Seventy-eight percent of the participants reported positive memories, either strongly positive or mainly positive. Participants cited the university's efforts, mainly in the academic departments, to accommodate them through funding and supportive faculty. Even those who reported positive memories experienced difficulties, but appeared that they viewed difficulties of all types as part of the process. As one participant explained "I knew...that I would have problems and I would encounter racism, but I knew I would have the chance to get the degree if I did the work." Given the high percentage of participants who reported positive memories of the university, the difficulties some encountered do not appear to characterize their overall graduate school experience.

Across the decades, the graduates of the 1960s and 1970s reported the highest rate of strongly or mainly positive memories at 83 percent . Seventy-five percent of the graduates of the 1980s, the largest group in the study, reported positive memories, while 74 percent of the graduates from the 1990s reported positive memories of their experiences as graduate students at the university (see Table 25). A graduate of the 1970's who reported strongly positive memories wrote: "I don't think that graduates after this time can begin to appreciate the 'early days.' Because those were the beginning phases, much was different for various reasons." In citing one of the reasons, he explained:

The time that I was there was during the Hippie era and the Viet Nam War.

It was back in the time when Blacks were accepted, well ,for a short period, in a lot of things. Being one of the early ones, I think there were folk who bent over backwards to make it work (this is not true for the whole university)

because it was sort of forced upon them. On the other hand, I personally think the folks I came into contact with in my department bent over backwards to be supportive.

While a higher percentage of graduates of the earlier decades reported positive memories than did those of the latter two decades, there were factors that perhaps affected their perceptions of experiences over the decades. These factors are examined in chapter 6 where generational differences are addressed.

As she reflected on being an advanced doctoral student, one participant (who reported strongly positive memories of the university) wrote that her experiences "made me more intellectually confident, wise and cautious. I was made aware of the fact that competition, astuteness and alertness are virtues, if you will, necessary to survive in a predominantly White university." Another participant who taught and was given a temporary administrative assignment while a doctoral student rated her memories as strongly positive and added: "It was an outstanding experience. My teaching experience, my courses, my stint as an administrator were all excellent. I

Table 24

Memories of the University

<u>Memories</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Strongly Positive	22	25%
Mainly Positive	47	53%
Mixed	17	19%
Negative	1	1%
Strongly Negative	1	1%

Table 25

Memories of the University by Decade

Memories	1960s & 1970s %	1980s %	1990s %
Positive	83%	75%	75%

have extremely fond memories of my time at the university"

Participants who reported mixed, negative, and strongly negative memories identified experiences within their departments as the main source of their difficulties. In spite of repeated difficulties, they stayed on course and completed the degree. The difficulties expressed were a combination of race related problems and the types of difficulties students face, regardless of race. One woman who had an unusual number of difficulties in her department, including the death of her committee chair, describes her memories as mixed. She talked about being pulled into department politics and dealing with the consequences of failing to "worship" the chair of the program.

Speaking of the department's chair, she explains:

Unfortunately I could not do the worshipping, I could not ever bring myself to it. He knew, he knew I didn't worship him because when I asked him to chair my dissertation, as all poor little crazy doctoral students did, he said no, no way, because I hadn't towed the line in terms of my treatment of him. I had aligned myself with another faculty member that he didn't like and that's where I learned all about the business of politics. You have to be careful about which faculty you align with and that kind of thing. That's why my feelings are predominantly mixed. I don't think students should be dragged into that kind of business and I inadvertently was.

She also noted race related difficulties, but recognizing how small the academic community is, she wrote: "The one or two incidents are too 'close' to share." Another participant who reported mainly negative memories explained that, among the difficulties he encountered was a White professor who asked him why he didn't put "nigger" in place of his name on the title page of a paper he submitted.

Forty-three men and 45 women responded to the questionnaire. Examining the responses by gender, thirty-two percent of the men reported that their memories were strongly positive compared to 16 percent of the women. Fifty-five percent of the men reported mainly positive memories compared to 49 percent of the women. Women reported a higher rate of mixed memories at 33 percent versus 11 percent of the men (see Table 26).

Perhaps reflecting gender issues that women face in predominantly male institutions, there is a significant gap between men and women in reporting positive memories. More men had positive memories than did women, and more women

Table 26

Memories of the University by Gender

Response	Women	%	Men	%
Strongly Positive	7	16%	14	32%
Mainly Positive	22	49%	24	55%
Mixed	14	33%	5	11%
Negative	--		1	2%
Strongly Negative	1	2%	--	--

reported mixed memories than did men. Gender differences in memories of the university as well as in other categories of response are discussed in chapter six.

The Challenges of Graduate School

Approximately one-half of the participants who identified difficulties saw them as the types of problems experienced by doctoral students regardless of race. As one participant wrote, "It is my candid appraisal that all grads have the same and/or similar difficulties (sort of the rites of passage) before their committee feels they are 'fit' for the terminal degree." Thirty-seven (42 percent) participants reported having no particularly difficult times in their departments during their doctoral studies; 49 (57 percent) reported that they did experience difficulties in their department and 2 did not respond. Sixty-six (75 percent) reported having no particularly difficult times with other offices, programs or organizations at the university; sixteen (17 percent) reported difficulties. Seven did not respond (see Table 27).

Twenty-two persons reported departmental difficulties as being the type of problems all students may encounter; 22 others identified their problems as race

Table 27

Difficulties Reported

Responses	Department		Other Offices and Programs	
	Number	%	Number	%
No Difficulties	37	42%	66	75%
Difficulties	49	57%	15	17%
No Response	2	2%	7	8%

related; 5 persons were unsure whether their problems were race related. Six who reported having difficulties with other offices, programs or organizations at the university reported that the problems were the types encountered by all students; 8 reported that the problems were race related and one participant was uncertain (see Table 28).

Of those participants reporting departmental difficulties, 61 percent were women and 39 percent were men. Of those reporting difficulties with other offices, programs or organizations on campus, 47 percent were women and 53 percent were men (see Table 29). Of those who identified their departmental difficulties as race related, 55 percent were women and 45 percent were men. Of those who identified difficulties with other offices, programs or organizations on campus as race related, 25 percent were women and 75 percent were men (see Table 30).

Perhaps reflective of gender and racial issues faced by Black women in predominantly White male institutions, a higher percentage of women reported departmental difficulties than did the men. A higher percentage of women also identified their departmental difficulties as race related. A higher percentage of men,

Table 28

Locus of Difficulty

	Departmental		Other Offices and Programs	
	Number	%	Number	%
Non-Race Related	22	45%	6	40%
Race Related	22	45%	8	53%
Uncertain if Race Related	5	10%	1	7%

Table 29

Locus of Difficulties by Gender

	Departmental		Other Offices and Programs	
	Number	%	Number	%
Women	30	61%	7	47%
Men	19	39%	8	53%

Table 30

Race Related Difficulties by Gender

	Departmental				Other Offices and Programs			
	Women	%	Men	%	Women	%	Men	%
Race Related	12	55%	10	45%	2	25%	6	75%

however, reported difficulties with other offices, programs, and departments of the university. The men identified a significantly higher percentage of these difficulties as race related. These and other gender differences are discussed in chapter 6.

Generalized Difficulties

Among the difficulties experienced by students regardless of race and identified by some participants as experiences they encountered, were challenges associated with the process of completing the degree, the relationships that are essential to the process, and the personal sacrifices made to complete the degree.

The Process. The process for completing the doctorate includes taking courses, preparing for and taking the comprehensive exams, developing the proposal,

conducting the research, completing the dissertation and defending it. Moving from one process to the next is not always a smooth transition. To provide a well rounded educational experience, doctoral students often take courses relevant to their areas of study outside of their departments. Many departments require this while others simply encourage their students to take courses in other departments. While the educational experiences in other departments can be enriching, one participant spoke of the frustration experienced when taking a course, normally offered in his department, from another department.

That was a nightmare. Something happened in our department and all of the majors had to go over to business to take statistics. There were people in that statistics class who had master's degrees in statistics, but they were required to take the course. The professor marked on a frequency type of distribution... You could make 90 or 98 and that would be a C. The professor would tell us 'Well, what I am doing, I am comparing these with the other students. It is a comparative grade.'

Caught in the cross fire of innovation, one participant took his comprehensive examination after his department had instituted a new procedure for administering and grading the exam. He explained:

One person gave me a passing grade of 85 percent or something and the other person gave me a 50 percentone person thought I did well and the other person thought I failed. I said, "What's going on here? Did I do well or did I not?"If you failed the exams, supposedly you had to leave.

He was allowed to retake that portion of the exam. He said: "There was turmoil! People were complaining about the test and how they were graded... I think it would have been difficult to kick people out on that basis."

One participant spoke of trying to get her committee's approval on her proposed research study:

I wanted to do a study that was statistical in nature. They didn't discourage me, in fact all of them liked it except my chairman. They let me go on. I had done the preliminaries...then my chairman said, "I would rather you not do this because I don't know that much about statistics." Well, that floored me, and I thought very hard about changing [schools]. I came on home and I just sat... About two months later he called me and said, "I think I have something you would like to do."

Describing her committee as "a pretty good bunch of folk," one participant said, "I found that they didn't always think alike." She explained:

One day I was on campus and I went to see each one individually. I had a question about what test to apply to my data. I went to see five different people and at the end of the day I had five different answers. I said, ' "Lord have mercy!"

Another participant wrote of some unusually difficult circumstances:

My first chair died. I ended up writing a second proposal due to a grant research opportunity that included dissertation data collection. My second chair left the university declaring my dissertation as "garbage." My third proposal and dissertation began in May 1993 and was totally completed

November 1993...I quit my job and spent 20 hours a day, seven days a week writing and analyzing my data.

The doctoral defense is the final part of the process. It should be an affirmation of the doctoral student's success as a scholar in the eyes of the academic community. But as life's difficulties afflict committee members, they can cause problems for their students. Speaking of his difficult dissertation defense, one participant explained:

What happened was that my dissertation director became ill, seriously ill...I had given him chapters, but I don't think there was much communication between he and the other committee members. At the end they came up with these...semi-serious problems, and that was a problem. Also he was too ill to attend the dissertation defense, and so he asked somebody to sit in for him, someone who he thought would be supportive and the person was the least supportive of the ones on the committee. Your dissertation director is the person who is your [protector] in some cases. I had no protector, that's what made it difficult.

It took the student an entire summer semester to make revisions. He successfully defended his dissertation at the end of the semester on a Friday and began his job as an assistant professor at another institution the following Monday.

There are administrative offices outside of the department essential to the graduate school process, such as the bursar's office, the registrar and the Office of Research Compliance. The bursar's office is responsible for the administration and disbursement of financial aid to students, including monies from loans, grants, and scholarships. Registration is the process of signing up for classes. Research

conducted by any member of the university community involving human subjects must be reviewed and approved by the Office of Research Compliance. Overall, the other offices, programs and organizations of the university fared better than the departments in posing difficulties to a lower percentage of students. Those participants who experienced difficulties revealed their frustration when recalling their problems. A graduate of the 1980s wrote that "Financial aid was consistently incompetent and unconcerned about delays in processing funds." Often one glitch in the system next to a student's name causes not only frustration but time and energy. While the university has improved its systems over the years, a graduate of the 1990s wrote:

I had continuous problems with the bursars office getting credit for my tuition waiver as a state employee. Several times I had to return to the bursar's office after registration to present evidence (receipt) that I had indeed completed the registration process. I also had problems with the new "improved" billing system.

Relationships Essential to the Process. Other difficulties had to do with relationships with difficult professors and committee members. Caught in the midst of departmental infighting among faculty, or what is commonly referred to as departmental politics, one participant explained:

There were guys on my committee who didn't like each other. Guess who became the lightning rod for all of their frustration and anger; I did... . When I would meet with them one would praise me for something I had done and the other guy would criticize me and vice versa. I found out that it wasn't me, they simply disliked each other.

Another participant explained that she encountered difficulties with two committee members near the end of her program:

Two of my committee members fell out with each other about another issue that had nothing to do with me. They refused to contribute to evaluating my dissertation. I was scheduled to graduate at the end of that semester. When the department chair and another faculty member confronted them they apologized and proceeded to get the job done.

There are also the difficulties of dealing with over-extended faculty members. In discussing a meeting with one committee member described as one of the more important people in his department, one participant explained:

I can recall sitting with this guy and trying to talk about where it was I was heading and he would nod off, literally go to sleep....This person would wake up every now and then and look at what it was I was doing, and he would come up with questions and concerns that were out in left field...He and I talked about it eventually, and we had a rather heated exchange...I made it a point to make him aware that I was confused by his actions...I talked to some of my European [White] colleagues who had similar problems with him. Maybe it was just a matter of him being overworked.

He further explained: "At my oral defense that same professor must have been fifteen minutes late."

Personal Sacrifices. In addition to the challenges associated with the academic process, personal sacrifices were made and an emotional toll was sometimes paid by the participants and their families. One woman was the mother of seven children when

she began her graduate program. Her family lived in a different state and she went home as often as she could. When asked how her family managed while she was away, she explained: "It was hard, but relatives stayed there and helped my husband with the children." Adding the role of student to the other roles of adult life created stress for the graduate students. As one participant explained "My challenges involved balancing family and work with school." Another participant wrote: "My challenges related to being a mother and wife and living apart from my family." In trying to juggle his roles as husband, father, provider, and student, one participant, speaking of his wife explained: "I think I short-changed her because I spent so much time at the library and didn't spend a lot of time with her. We had two young sons and she basically took the lead in taking care of them."

Calling himself "an old man with a mission," one participant and his family made the decision that he should leave home to attend school shortly after a family tragedy. He explained:

My son was killed in Viet Nam the August that I was scheduled to go stay on campus. I was going there a week after it happened....So it was in the middle of this tragedy. I had already been accepted, I had already gotten my leave of absence, everything had been set up. It was a long debate on our part....We decided the best thing for me to do was to just go on.

Of the women interviewed, nine were married at the beginning of their programs and two divorced during the process. Twenty of the male participants were married. Five of the men and four of the women lived apart from their families. They spoke of wanting to finish quickly so that they could be with their families. There was, however, no talk of doubt or guilt related to their decisions to leave home. In

highlighting how central obtaining the degree was in her life, one participant discussed the sacrifice she made to pursue graduate training.

I really went there to get that degree....I always wanted a doctorate. I had a son, I left him when he was six months old, he was with my mother and sister in my home state. My husband was in another state, so I had a mission. Unless there was illness with one or both of them, or illness on my part, I was there to accomplish what I did.

Like the men, the married women spoke of the degree as central to their lives, and they were committed to make the sacrifices necessary to pursue it full-time. In examining marital status and graduate education, Feldman (1973) explains that "full commitment to the student role involves making all other roles subordinate." In her study of women graduate students Adler (1976) found that the women of her study experienced conflicts of their personal and professional lives. She reports: "The female role expectations that are most contradictory to professional role are those relating to marriage and family, and women frequently have to choose between the two." (p. 211). Two women divorced in the process. They didn't offer many details, but they spoke of their time in graduate school as a factor in the break up of their marriages. One participant explained that she had a good marriage when she started graduate school, but: "I stayed in school so long that my husband divorced me" The role conflicts women traditionally experience as wives and mothers taking on graduate school were perhaps lessened by the fact that almost half of the married women lived apart from their families.

Loneliness. A sense of loneliness is sometimes part of the process. During the interviews, five single participants reported or alluded to feelings of loneliness.

Whether married or single for most people the doctoral process is a solitary one that no one quite understands unless they have experienced it. No married student, however, reported feelings of loneliness. In her study examining the intellectual and personal development of graduate students, Lozoff (1976) found that a third of her population indicated that they were lonely as a result of the graduate school experience. She also found that reports of loneliness varied with age and discipline. Consistent with Lozoff's findings, virtually none of the older students of this study reported feelings of loneliness. Given the fact that most of the older graduates were over 30 years old and married while pursuing the degree, this study supports Lozoff's conclusion. In addition to the other difficulties for those who experienced feelings of loneliness, there was no one with whom they maintained a close relationship, no one close to share their experiences with. In describing her life as a graduate student, one woman explained:

It was stressful...I didn't really have anybody I could talk to. I worked eight hours a day - either reading, studying, or doing library research...I was 24.... alone, single, no kids or family, and I was broke.

Finances. Finances were yet another issue. When asked how their graduate studies were financed, most of the 88 participants listed a combination of sources. Sixty-seven percent listed assistantships as one source of funding for their graduate education; 36 percent listed scholarships; 51 percent of the participants listed personal or family assistance; 25 percent listed loans and 32 percent listed other sources. Among the sources listed as "other" were the GI Bill, grants, sabbatical leave pay, and part-time teaching (see Table 31). Sixty-seven or 76 percent of the participants listed a combination of sources while 21 or 24 percent listed a single source (see Table 32). Five listed scholarships as their sole source of support; four participants paid for their

graduate education completely from personal finances; seven listed graduate assistantships; two relied on employer reimbursements; and one each listed a fee waiver and a grant as their sole source for financing their graduate education (see Table 33).

A number of students held regular employment while pursuing their degrees. They worked full-time in business and industry, while pursuing the degree part-time. Some worked as full-time university employees while pursuing their doctorates full-time. Some were able to take advantage of employer contributions, reimbursements, or, in the case of university employees, fee waivers. A few were allowed to take a one year leave from their regular jobs with either full or partial pay to pursue doctoral studies. Others pursued doctoral studies full-time and, in most cases, depended on a combination of funding sources.

One of the largest sources of funding, in numbers if not dollars, were graduate assistantships; 67 percent of the respondents served as graduate assistants. Assistantships at the university are department-based and provide a stipend, tuition and

Table 31

Sources of Funding

Source	Number	Percent
Scholarships	32	36%
Assistantships	59	67%
Personal and/or Family	45	51%
Loans	22	25%
Other	28	32%

Table 32

Combination and Single Source of Funding

<u>Funding</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Combination	67	76%
Single Source	21	24%

most fees. The monthly stipends require 10 or 20 hours of work per week usually within a college or department. The amount of monthly stipends and the number of years assistantships are offered to a student vary depending on the college. As one participant explained, "Even if you get an assistantship as a graduate student you never have enough money." Most of the students who received assistantships supplemented them with loans, scholarships, fellowships, grants, part-time work, personal and family assistance.

Not many participants spoke of financial difficulties, however. When asked about the difficulties they encountered, only four mentioned finances. A number of students worked full time and/or had spouses who worked full-time which helped to lessen the financial blow of graduate education. Some participants who worked full-time received some employer assistance in paying for their education. Those student who relied on other sources of income did not speak much of finances. Whether finances were not an issue for the graduates, or whether it was an issue of lesser concern, is an open question. Perhaps the graduates for whom finances may have been a concern simply adjusted to their situations. In her study examining the effect of graduate school on the students' autonomy, Lozoff (1976) found that though most of

Table 33

Single Source Funding

Source	Number	Percent
Assistantships	7	33%
Scholarships	6	29%
Personal and/or Family	4	19%
Employer Reimbursement	2	10%
Fellowship	1	5%
Grant	1	5%

the graduate students of her study lived below poverty level (41 percent of the participants) many indicated that their finances were "pretty adequate." She explains that "most students manage to live in comfort despite limited means" (p. 157).

Careers of the Doctoral Graduates

This section examines the careers followed by the graduates immediately upon completion of the doctorate, career changes, and their current careers. It also examines how well they felt their doctoral training prepared them for their careers. In light of the quality of their lives after completing the doctorate, and given the struggles of obtaining the degree, when asked if it was worth it all of the graduates said -- yes!

One participant explained:

It is the most direct correlation of value of anything in my life...It gave me the credentials needed so that I don't have to feel that second rate status in

academe. It has allowed me to go through doors without questions being asked....It has given me the credential to easily move into a lot of things that I never expected. I have always said that I only want to see my doctorate in a check, and it has helped in that way.

Another participant explained, "Oh, yes! I think it really was worth it because it opened up so many windows of opportunity for me and for, I think, any African American who acquires the Ph.D." The opportunities the doctorate has opened up for the participants are reflected in their career choices.

Careers Upon Completion of the Doctorate

Upon completion of their degrees, 56 percent of the participants pursued their career goals in institutions of higher learning in teaching, administration or professional services. Eight percent worked in secondary education while another 8 percent worked in elementary education. Eight percent did post doctoral work, while 10 percent worked for business and industry. Two percent worked in the military, while 8 percent reported "other" (see Table 34). Those careers listed as "other" included work at a mental health center, work at a non-profit organization, governmental research, governmental education and training, and business ownership.

Of the 49 persons who worked in higher education, 64 percent taught, 30 percent worked as administrators, and 6 percent were practicing clinicians. Of those who worked in secondary education 33 percent taught while 67 percent worked as administrators; 43 percent of those in elementary education taught while 57 percent worked as administrators (see Table 35).

Table 34

Careers of Black Doctoral Graduates 1 Year After Obtaining the Doctorate

Career	Participants	Percent
Higher Education	49	56%
Secondary Education	7	8%
Elementary Education	7	8%
Post Doctorate	7	8%
Business and Industry	9	10%
Military	2	2%
Other	7	8%

Table 35

Careers in Education

Level	Teaching	Administration	Professional Services
Higher Education	64%	30%	6%
Secondary Education	33%	67%	---
Elementary Education	43%	57%	---

In his study of the academic labor market, Cartter (1976) examined trends in the placement of new doctorates. He reports that from about the late 1950s to the mid 1970s over half of new Ph.D.s worked in educational institutions, and about half went into college teaching. Ries and Thurgood (1993) examined the trend of postgraduation commitments of doctoral recipients by race from 1971 to 1991. The data indicated that among racial/ethnic groups, Blacks and Hispanics are most likely to have academic work commitments. They reported that over half of Black doctorate recipients had postgraduation commitments in academe. The numbers are consistent with the findings of this study, in which over half of the graduates pursued careers in academe. Ries and Thurgood also found that academe was among the top choices for women Ph.D.s with definite postgraduation employment commitments. Given the fact that approximately half of the participants in this study are women and half of all participants hold doctorates in education, it appears that educational institutions were natural employment sources for new Ph.D.s.

Career Changes

Twenty-four participants (26 percent) reported that they made major career changes since completing their degrees. Twenty-five percent of those who made major changes moved from teaching to administrative positions in both four-year institutions and elementary schools. Seventeen percent moved from business or government to academe while 13% moved from academe to business or government. Perhaps in search of greater opportunity for professional development, thirteen percent changed academic institutions while 8 percent moved from county school systems to institutions of higher education. One participant moved from a non-academic clinical setting to teaching in academe. Twenty-one percent reported other changes (see Table 36).

Table 36

Major Career Changes

Change	Number	Percent
Teaching to Administration	6	25%
From Business or Government to Academe	4	17%
From Academe to Business or Government	3	13%
Changed Academic Institutions	3	13%
County School Systems to University	2	8%
Non-academic Clinical Setting to Academe	1	4%
Other	5	21%

The other changes included moving from teaching to doing "field mission service" work with special education students, while another participant moved from counseling in an academic setting to teaching. There was one position changed within a governmental organization and one promotion in higher education. Another participant who pursued a variety of career interests wrote:

I have been successful in all of the following areas:

- *Professor of Educational Administration*
- *Department Chair of Educational Administration*
- *Assistant Dean of the College of Education*
- *Real Estate Broker*
- *Adult Foster Care Home Administrator (\$600,000 Budget)*

A number of the participants reported that they had made some career changes, including lateral moves, working in different capacities within the same institution or promotions to higher levels, but none that they would consider major.

The data does not address the participants' reasons for making career changes. However in examining the underemployment of Ph.D.s, Solmon, Kent, Ochsner and Hurwicz (1981) discuss their findings relative to the reasons for career goal changes. Among those in the humanities, social sciences, the sciences, and engineering, the authors found that the two major reasons for the changes are, limited or unattractive teaching opportunities and finding more-attractive or more challenging job opportunities elsewhere. Other reasons cited were growing interest in another area of study, personal or family reasons, not enjoying their first career choice, being fired, or becoming outdated in one's first career choice.

Present Careers

During the period of this study, 63 percent of the graduates held positions as professors at institutions of higher learning. Nine percent have pursued their careers outside of post-secondary academe in elementary and secondary school systems. Eight percent work in business and industry; 7 percent work for the government; and one each are self employed, in private practice, or work for a non-profit organization. Nine percent of the participants are retired (see Table 37). Of the 55 participants in higher education, 60 percent are in teaching positions while 27 percent are administrators. Nine percent hold both teaching and administrative positions. One offers professional services at a university while one person holds a post-doctoral research position (see Table 38).

Table 37

Present Careers of Black Doctoral Graduates

Careers	Number	Percent
In Higher Education	55	63%
In Elementary and Secondary School Systems	8	9%
In Business and Industry	7	8%
In Government	6	7%
Retired	8	9%
Other	3	3%
Non-respondents	1	1%

Table 38

Present Positions Held by Black Doctoral Graduates Working in Academe

Position	Number	Percent
Teaching	33	60%
Administration	15	27%
Teaching and Administration	5	9%
Professional Service	1	2%
Post Doctorate	1	2%

A high percentage of participants work in institutions of higher learning in teaching capacities. This is perhaps reflective of the heavy concentration of education majors who often seek teaching careers in academe. For African Americans, however, this heavy concentration of educators has historical significance. Prior to the 1970s, education was the only field of study in which Blacks were, to some degree, accepted; and teaching was the only real academic professional activity in which they could engage. Since the 1970s more Blacks have entered disciplines normally considered the domain of White men, such as the physical sciences and engineering. In this study, 49% of the participants completed their doctorates in education.

Twenty-nine percent of the participants work at predominantly Black institutions of higher learning, while 71 percent work at predominantly White colleges and universities (see Table 39). Thus, almost three-fourths of the doctoral graduates in academe work at predominantly White colleges and universities. The fact that the presence of Black faculty on predominantly White campuses was virtually nonexistent until the early 1970s no doubt reveals higher education's response to the 1965 executive order designed to enforce affirmative action in hiring practices. In 1971, "many colleges and universities were required to begin affirmative action programs" (Fleming et al., 1978, p. 134). Perhaps the more plentiful resources of many White

Table 39

Type of Institution of Higher Learning at Which Graduates are Employed

Institution	Number	Percent
Black Institutions	16	29%
White Institutions	39	71%

institutions compared to some Black institutions make them more attractive employers for doctoral graduates.

For those persons working in White institutions, their presence is important for the Black students at these schools. They indicated that they were there, in part, to help Blacks students with the struggles they face at predominantly White institutions. In light of her own experiences as a student at a predominantly White university, one woman explained:

I am able to meet and interact with Black students and I am trying to help a lot of them get into graduate school and law school. I can give them advice about things. I never had anyone I could talk to, I never had anyone who could really mentor me as an undergraduate and they do.

Their responsibilities in their teaching positions, include research, service, advising, committee assignments and teaching at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Those working as administrators include a vice president of academic affairs, a vice chancellor, a chief academic officer, a dean of faculty, a chair of an academic department, three deans of academic departments or colleges and three directors of student services.

Seven percent of those participants who work in academe are instructors, 38 percent are assistant professors, 22 percent are associate professors, 16 percent are full professors and 16 percent are in non-ranked administrative positions. Twenty-five percent are tenured professors (see Table 40). The participants in general, expressed job satisfaction, though there are difficulties in academe with which they must contend. One African participant who now works in South Africa wrote that as a lecturer her job responsibilities are, "Teaching and research - officially. Unofficially:

re-education of White supremacists." Another participant working in academe spoke of the disappointment of being passed over for a promotion.

I have been a full professor since 1990. I won an outstanding research award in 1992 and have served on key university committees. Yet, I was bypassed by a less qualified faculty for the position of department chair. I was very bitter about it; now as a middle aged person I have learned how only the color of your skin disadvantages you and I have decided to go on with my life.

He explained that he enjoys his career and that in addition to his teaching, research and service responsibilities, he is the editor of a journal in his field.

Table 40

Rank of Participants in 4 year Colleges and Universities

Rank	Number	Percent
Instructors	4	7%
Assistant Professors	21	38%
Associate Professors	12	22%
Full Professors	9	16%
Non-ranked Administrators	9	16%
Tenured	14	25%

Preparation for Careers

The participants were asked how well they felt that their doctoral programs prepared them for their careers. Sixty-eight percent of the respondents indicated that their doctoral training prepared them well, while 10 percent indicated that their program failed to prepare them. Surprisingly, 22 percent did not respond (see Table 41). Those who felt that their doctoral programs prepared them well most frequently identified teaching and research, and skill development as ways their training prepared them. Speaking of his training, one participant wrote:

- 1) Provided hands-on teaching experience (teaching assistantships).*
- 2) Provided me with an extensive knowledge of my field.*
- 3) Made me knowledgeable on the usefulness of available academic resources.*
- 4) Provided hands-on research/grant writing experience.*

One participant wrote: "I was very well prepared because of my teaching experiences as a graduate assistant. I also attended many conferences and did publications."

Table 41

Preparation for Careers

Response	Number	Percent
Prepared Me	60	68%
Failed to Prepare Me	9	10%
No Response	19	22%

The skills the respondents indicated that they developed as a result of their training included people and organizational skills. One person explained:

My doctoral experience taught me how to relate to people and how to understand and be tolerant of others' opinions. I learned how to perfect my goal setting and how to remain on track. In my present job I work closely with people at every rank and level. My interpersonal skills have been honed through my experience.

They said, to a lesser degree, that their training helped them to become politically astute and prepared them for career advancements. Speaking of the political astuteness she acquired as a doctoral student, an assistant professor wrote:

It's all very familiar to me! Figuring out the good guys from the bad; staying away from political power plays; making sure I keep my eyes on my goals and the rules of the game -- publish or perish that is it.

The degree helped to prepare some participants for career advancement. One participant wrote:

I received my doctoral degree while working full time as a researcher...I worked in a prestigious group for chemical engineering fundamental research. My advancement to a principal investigator occurred within one year after completing my Ph.D. I am a better researcher as a result of my Ph.D. training.

Those who felt that their training failed to prepare them identified the lack of research and/or teaching emphasis of their programs as the major shortcoming. One participant, currently a university professor, wrote: "I was over-prepared to do university teaching and underprepared to do the amount of research expected from

university professors." Speaking of her Ph.D. program, another participant wrote:
"The greatest failure was in not establishing and supporting a strong research agenda."

The educational experiences of the graduates at both the undergraduate and graduate levels reveal experiences typical of students in higher education regardless of race. There was, however, evidence that their race sometimes affected their educational experiences. The next section will focus on the influence of race in the graduates' experiences at the graduate school level

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: RACIALLY RELATED EXPERIENCES

In understanding the ways race affected the participants' graduate school experiences, race related difficulties are presented as well as their strategies for coping with difficulties, race related and otherwise. The university's responses to the needs of Black graduate students are considered along with the graduates' awareness of the policies and practices designed to address the needs of minority students. These findings are related to the literature cited earlier.

Race and the Doctoral Graduates

The place of race in their lives, both American and foreign born graduates, their history of racial experiences and race related stress are discussed.

Their History of Racial Experiences

Their attitudes toward and comments about race reflect the doctoral graduates' experiences with White Americans along with their predispositions in coping in a society where they hold second class citizenship. For those American born participants for whom racial segregation had been a way of life (35 percent of those interviewed), their comments regarding race reflected the ingrained nature of separation; it was taken for granted with little need for discussion. During the interviews, these participants offered few reflections or expressions of emotions associated with their experiences of race. Many of them shared their stories of separate water fountains and separate waiting rooms in doctors' offices. One participant shared the stories told to her by her grandmother, who was born into

slavery, about the difficulties of life as a slave child. These graduates explained that during those times, the early to mid-twentieth century, Black men were referred to as "boys" and were later promoted to "uncles." They talked of walking miles to school, while White children in school buses passed them by and spat on them. In response to questions which attempted to get at their feelings about such indignities, they simply explained, "That's just the way it was!" or "The thought of trying to integrate was unthinkable!" or "Segregation was the law and no one apologized to you for it."

Some participants revealed a bit more emotion as they told the stories of their experiences as pioneers in the move toward integration in their home states. One participant explained:

We were the first Blacks to integrate this high school, and the first year was brutal...I remember my first day in high school...I didn't know people could be so vicious, people who didn't even know me.

As a young person, one participant volunteered to attend a White high school and spoke of the difficulties she encountered:

It was very hostile, they would write things on your locker like "Damn commie nigger." You would walk down the hall and people would scream and try to get out of your way...in the classes they would leave a seat in front, a seat behind, and a seat on either side of you vacant. It was not a pleasant situation to deal with day in and day out. I just got sick of it.

Those who came of age after the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s benefited from the movement but still experienced racial indignities. They were forthright in their discussions of race and the difficulties it presented in their lives as doctoral students. Though it appeared that they had not experienced as many of the blatantly

racist incidents as the older doctoral graduates, they shared their reflections on the impact of race in their lives and their strategies for coping with race.

Experiences with Whites during their educational experiences reflect the ugliness of racism, and the humanity of Whites who earnestly wanted and tried to end racism. They saw the treachery of Whites who paid lip service to diversity and equity but never acted on opportunities to promote these ideals, and the insensitivity of those who refused to acknowledge that race is an issue and wished that Blacks would simply "get over it!" The graduates were armed with the knowledge that they would encounter these and other types of White people during their doctoral experience, as they had all of their lives.

Experiences of Foreign Born Black Graduates

The experiences of race for the foreign born participants of African descent were in some respects different from the African Americans'. Given the differences in their histories and the degree of contact with Whites in their home countries, the experiences of some foreign born Blacks with Whites in America proved confusing to them when racism influenced their interactions. Five West Indians and five Africans were interviewed. While one participant explained that racial discrimination is not unknown in the West Indies, three of the five West Indians came to the U.S. as young adults with little awareness of the country's history of race relations. One West Indian participant described his encounters with racism in America as "shocking!" When asked what it was like experiencing racism in America, another West Indian explained:

It was hard to understand. What I knew about it was what I saw on television, for the most part. So actually seeing and experiencing it was kind of different and hard to figure out.

There were others, however, who were born and raised in all-Black countries, places where, as one Nigerian participant explained: "We do not have race related difficulties." In speaking of the tribal discrimination he experienced in his home country, another African explained: "I had developed the awareness and as a result I developed the psychological ability to deal with these problems." After coming to America and experiencing racial discrimination, he added: "Whatever coping mechanisms I had before coming to the U.S., they were diffused when I got here." Having come to the U.S. with positive self-regard, the West African's experience of race in the U.S. was at times inconsistent with what they experienced in their countries. Another Nigerian explained:

I come from a society where everybody...is Black. Here most of the people you run into, in most situations, will be White. The kind of reception that you receive when you are in a culture where everybody is just like you, you expect that, you get used to it. It tends to complement your long held beliefs. When you don't get that information that you have always received to support your views, you begin to question, "Maybe, I'm not doing something right."

In a book that examines American pluralistic society from an African perspective, Apraku (1996), a Ghanaian, explained his concept of self as a Black man having grown up in an all-Black country:

I...was raised in a free country. I have never had to feel sorry for, or apologize for the color of my skin. I have never, before coming to the United States, been treated as an inferior person or as a minority. My self esteem had never been previously challenged. Above all, my right as a human being, created in the likeness of God, is not granted to me because some piece of legislation was successfully passed, however reluctantly. I have all the rights

that any human being in my country can lay claim to because I am a human being. (p. 112)

The foreign born participants were made aware of racism in the U.S. through their own experiences and, in one case, a warning from a concerned American. One West Indian participant tells of a conversation he had with a White professor at his master's degree institution.

Before I went to the institution at which I completed my doctorate, I had a professor who was from a southern state who sat me down and talked to me about racism, the expectations. What he said basically was, "You are going to the South, you are a very bright young man and what you may encounter will not be anything like you have here." He said, "One of the things you may find is that you have to work harder than most to get equivalent grades." A White guy, he came out and told me that, "This is what you have to anticipate in the South." ..and he told me, "This is America. This is the reality you may have to deal with when you go down there."

The participant commented, "it was like a big brother or a dad talking to me."

The foreign born Black is often socialized in cultures where their Blackness is not an issue, their competency is not questioned because of their race, and expectations for their achievement are not limited by pre-conceptions. In recognizing the differences in experiences of race, one West Indian emphasized that his experiences at the university should not be equated with that of an American born Black person.

Having grown up in the West Indies, he explained:

that may confound the interactions I experienced in my education for two main reasons: 1) My naiveté in not being aware of the "glass ceiling" that limits how

much I am/was expected to achieve academically. Having spent 18 years in a different environment meant that I was not sensitized to the omnipresence of all the hurdles that African Americans must endure to succeed. My ignorance meant that, in my attempts to achieve a particular goal, the only hurdle I had to overcome was in connection with achieving the goal itself. I think that had I been born in the United States I would have had to overcome the additional hurdle of a system that instills a belief in its members that their expected potential is limited.

In discussing people's reaction to him as a foreign born Black, he offered a second reason:

2) The individuals with whom I interacted may have viewed themselves as interacting with someone of foreign origin (of African descent) rather than an African American. It will be difficult for me to access what aspects of the responses I received were due to my place of origin, my ancestry, my current classification [African American] or my personality.

Other foreign born participants were sure that White people's responses to them were basically no different than their response to American born Blacks. When asked whether they felt that the attitudes of Whites toward them were different because they were not American born, one West Indian participant made it clear, "The man don't treat me no different!" He explained:

I think it is a common misconception that a lot of African Americans have that foreigners, West Indians, are "treated differently by the man." When you look at me you don't see a West Indian or a Trinidadian or a foreigner you see a Black man and that is how you relate to me initially. I am sure on finding out

that I am not African American they may relate to me a little differently, I never sense it.

The perspective offered by Apraku (1996) is the same:

When it comes to racism in the United States, a real racist makes no distinction between Black Africans, Black Americans, or Black Caribbeans. To the racist Black is Black, whether made in Africa, America, or the Caribbean. (p. 115)

It appears that the foreign born Black comes to the U.S. with their sense of self intact. Though not all came to the U.S. with knowledge of this country's race relations, the overwhelming majority indicated that nothing in their previous life experiences adequately prepared them for racial discrimination, American style. They described their encounters with racism in the U.S. in terms of surprise. "Shocking" was the word used by three of the foreigners. Having been in the U.S. from 13 to 30 years, each one had their share of race related difficulties. One African participant explained that when he speaks to other Black foreign born students he tells them:

If a Black American tells you what they have and are going through you can never understand until you have gotten a taste of it....' It was kind of a shock. When people talk about the Black experience, I can say, 'Well, I had that experience and it wasn't fun.

Racial Stress

When you come you bring your Blackness with you. That Blackness does not disappear and it takes precedence over everything. It takes precedence over your GPA, it takes precedence over how willing you are to work with faculty members. It is the most obvious part of your being and people very often can't look beyond that, nor are they willing to look beyond that.

Doctoral Graduate

The difficulties associated with existing in a race conscious society presents difficulties that affect the psyche of people. In her book, Katz (1979) speaks of the ways that racism affects White people: "Racism has been diagnosed as a form of schizophrenia in that there is a large gap between what Whites believe and what they actually practice, which causes them to live in a state of psychological stress" (p. 12). Identifying racism as a disease, Delaney (1972) breaks it down into elements that include acting out, denial of reality, projection, transference of blame, disassociation, and justification. He identifies these elements as characteristic of destructive behavior.

Unaware of where the next racial indignity might come, the racial stress experienced by Blacks include a lingering uneasiness. This feeling of unease is evident in an interview with U.S. Senator Bill Bradley, a White man, Cose (1995), reported Bradley's discussion about his life as a professional ball player in a league dominated by Black players. Bradley explained:

Those ten years I lived in sort of a Black world....I did see...things I would not have seen, and felt things that I would not have felt, had I not been in that group at that time on the road in America. (p. 40)

Cose (1995) further reports: "For instance he learned what it means never to be able to relax, never to know where the next insult or slight would come from" (p. 40).

Bradley further stated; "And that is what's so depressing about it. You can't just [say], 'Well that's settled.' You want to get to a point [where you can drop your guard]. But that point, he indicated, never seemed to come" (Cose, 1995, p. 40).

This unusual insight provided by a prominent White man is reinforced many fold by the Black graduates in this study. In a study examining the racial experiences of Black women in the U.S. and the Netherlands, Essed (1991) explained:

They are under constant pressure to protect themselves against racial injustice, sometimes blatant, sometimes subtle, that operates in many places and locations, in looks, gestures, conversations, decisions, meetings, job applications, buses, and streets and through all social relations that are also race relations. (p. 214)

There are many small, seemingly insignificant incidents of which many Blacks are keenly aware. They are the small things that serve as constant reminders that, for some, Black people are intellectually inferior and are outsiders. Their presence makes some Whites uncomfortable. The subtle forms of racial injustices operate in many facets of everyday life. These incidents chip away at self esteem and in the long run are perhaps more psychologically damaging to Black people than blatantly racist actions. When asked if he had any encounters with racism since coming to the United States, one African participant explained:

To be honest with you, I don't recall any specific encounter. Most of what I have experienced would be glances at restaurants, the way people look at you sometimes. Perhaps an inadequate reception - nothing major, nothing memorable.

When another African participant was asked about his experiences with race, he indicated that it was difficult to pinpoint specific experiences but that "it's sort of a general feeling that one gets sometimes." Then there are those incidents that left participants wondering, as one explained, "Is it race, or just intellectual arrogance and stupidity?" One participant wrote of an incident that left him wondering:

When I completed the M.S. in my department I was one of the best students of the graduating class. I was not offered an assistantship by that department.

Fortunately, I got an assistantship from another department in which I had taken several courses and had done well. The college at which I completed my M.S. has a very different culture, conservative, relative to other colleges.

Addressing the influence of race in his department's actions, he wrote: "It is really hard for me to say. You and I know that racism is a fact of life in America, however." Another person wrote of the difficulties he had with committee members who seemed disinterested in his research. He wrote that one committee member "presented obstacles that were less than clear and reasonable." When asked if race was an influencing factor, he wrote that he thought so but, "it's hard to 'tell.'" He continued:

To a large extent, the committee members did not have the interest that I had previously thought they had in economically disadvantaged students and students of color as the focus of my research... It is akin to the "invisible man syndrome."

Living a life of wondering where the next racial indignity, whether blatant or subtle, might come from is a reality for Blacks in America. But staying focused and moving forward in spite of the threat of racial difficulties characterizes the participants of this study. The additional stress associated with race in light of the other difficulties of graduate school set the Black doctoral students' experiences apart from the experiences of the majority student population.

The University's Climate of Racial Acceptance

The experience of race at the university for all participants is partially reflected in their ratings of the institution's racial climate as well as their discussions of how

they felt they were treated by those in the various offices and facilities at the institution. In examining the climate of racial acceptance at the university, 27 percent of the respondents reported that the climate of racial acceptance at the university was "very accepting"; 65 percent reported it as "somewhat accepting" while 8 percent reported that the climate was "not very accepting." None reported the climate as "hostile." (see Table 42). One of the participants who reported the university's racial climate as very accepting added: "I never experienced any racial problems while at the university. I had excellent relationships with professors and students." Another participant explained: "My experience at the university was a wonderful venture. I had no time to entertain or notice racism even if it did exist"

One participant who rated the university's climate of racial acceptance as somewhat accepting wrote: "I found supportive people within the institution, but generally, I didn't find the university very progressive or accepting of those who were different." Another participant wrote: "It was a mixed bag. There were occasions when you were made to remember that you were Black and 'inferior.'" There were

Table 42

The University's Climate of Racial Acceptance

Response	Number	Percent
Very accepting	24	27%
Somewhat Accepting	57	65%
Not Very Accepting	7	8%
Hostile	--	

those who reported that the university's climate of racial acceptance was not very accepting. One participant, a graduate of the early 1980's, explains: "I didn't have any overtly racist experiences. You went through the usual battle of trying to get things for Black students and fighting that kind of battle."

The climate of racial acceptance at the departmental level reflects a somewhat different experience. Perhaps because of its proximity to the students' academic life and its goal to nurture future scholars, the climate in departments fared better than the climate of the university overall. In examining the climate of racial acceptance in their academic departments, 56 percent reported that the climate was "very accepting"; 42 percent reported it was "somewhat accepting" while 2 percent reported that the climate was "not very accepting." None reported the climates as "hostile" (see Table 43). One of the participants who reported that her department's climate of racial acceptance was "very accepting" wrote: "The administrators in my college and the faculty were supportive of diversity efforts. My major professor...was an excellent mentor." Another wrote: "The climate in my department was very good and I felt accepted by the other grad students and professors." One participant who rated the

Table 43

Departmental Climates of Racial Acceptance

Response	Number	Percent
Very accepting	49	56%
Somewhat Accepting	37	42%
Not Very Accepting	2	2%
Hostile	--	--

racial climate of her department as "somewhat accepting," wrote: "There was a range of reactions among faculty.... Some were very accepting, and others were dismissive or condescending." One participant who rated her department's climate of racial acceptance between "somewhat accepting" and "not very accepting" wrote: Some professors were very good, others were either prejudiced or had stereotypical views about Blacks and whether we could make it."

Overall, participants reported that they had good memories of the university, though a number reported negative race related incidents. Three students who experienced blatant racism in their departments reported that the overall racial climates in their departments were somewhat accepting. Twenty-five percent of all participants reported having race related difficulties in their departments, while 9 percent reported race related difficulties with other offices, programs or organizations at the university. (see Table 44).

Forms of Racial Indignities

Many of the examples cited by the participants leave little room for doubt that reactions to race prevented any possibility for positive interactions. They often left the Black doctoral students hurt, confused, angry, and feeling betrayed. In a study examining the components of Everyday Racism, defined as "the integration of racism

Table 44

Locus of Race Related Difficulties - Percent of Total Population

Departmental		Other Offices of the University	
No.	Percent	No.	Percent
22	25%	8	9%

into everyday situations..." (p. 50), Essed (1991) explains that everyday racism is played out through the processes of marginalization, containment, and problematization. These processes "mutually stimulate and sustain each other" (p. 114). Problematization serves to rationalize the marginalization of Blacks, while containment serves to suppress Blacks to keep them in relations of subjugation.

In the experiences of the doctoral graduates, the processes of marginalization, containment, and problematization were made operative in unfair treatment, underestimation of abilities, denial of opportunities, exclusion and insults. The forms of racial indignities experienced by participants will be examined relative to the processes of marginalization, containment, and problematization.

Incidents of racism during the doctoral programs involved White professors, students and staff. Psychologically, the pain of racial discrimination from any source hurts. By virtue of their position in the lives of graduate students, the responses and actions of professors have the potential to be most damaging. The racial indignities inflicted on the participants reveal the negative assumptions about Blacks held by some Whites. The belief that Black people are intellectually inferior, amoral and have been given handouts by the larger society explain some of the psychological violence committed by Whites against Blacks.

Unfair Treatment

Unfair treatment was one form of racial indignity suffered by the participants. This was especially true with the grading practices. One woman received a grade of B+ which she and her study partner, a White man, knew was in error. They both went to talk with the professor. Speaking of her study partner, she explained:

I had more points than he had in the class. We went home for break and when we got back he said, "I know you got an A because I did." I said, "No, I got a

B+." He said, "No, that's not true." I said, "No, I got a B+." He said, "That couldn't be true because you got more points than I did," and I said, "You're right." And he said, "that's not fair. I will go with you to the professor." And he did, he really did, I was surprised...He went with me, and I told the professor I think he made a mistake on my grade. I had a classmate that had three point less than I did and he got an A out of the course and I got a B+...I thought that he had made a mistake and I was wondering if he would take a look at it and change it. He told me that he could not do that 'because it's very difficult, it's too difficult to change a B+ to an A' so he would rather leave it that way.

She decided that it was not worth the fight, explaining that "I didn't worry about it." However, she did tell him, "You know if you had been fair in the very beginning this wouldn't have happened." He offered her no response and never changed the grade.

Another participant wrote:

I had one professor to give me lower grades than the other students (who were predominantly White) in his class. My answers were equal to or better than the other students'. I know this because I showed many of them how to solve the problems.

Perhaps following the advice of one professor who told his Black graduate student, "Don't sweat the small stuff," these graduates chose to walk away from the indignity. Another participant, however, confronted one of his professors about a grade he knew was in error, he explains:

I did all the work that the professor indicated for those who would get A's, B's, C's. He had this sort of contract and I did everything for the A and I got

a B. I went back to him and without any argument I told him how I felt. He looked at me and said, "Oh, I didn't know you were interested in an A. Okay, I'll change it."

In examining the everyday race related experiences of Blacks, Essed (1991) found that one of the most frequently mentioned situations was that as students the Blacks of her study were "not given their due credit, namely, grading in school." (p. 238). She identifies this as one of the "impediments to the pursuit of personal and group interests" (p. 234) and is one of the ways that the process of containment is made operable in the lives of Black students.

The university is a football powerhouse, consequently the sport is a major attraction bringing in thousands of fans. Providing a time for people to get loose and have fun, one doctoral graduate experienced what she described as a "horribly racist incident" at a football game she attended:

I went with an African friend of mine. There was a mix up with the seats. A White couple had tickets for section "FF." We were in section "F." The couple realized they were in the wrong seats, apologized and left. No big deal, right? Wrong. Some people saw us talking to the couple. We weren't arguing or anything, but they called security. The guards made us get out of the seats, show our IDs, then told us that we didn't look like doctoral students. He threatened to put us out. He was yelling at us....All of the Whites looked at us like we did something wrong. Some of them got uncomfortable and left. We were so angry that we left the game early. I never went to another one.

Another participant spoke of difficulties he experienced each semester as he interacted with the university's offices:

I had to interact with offices such as the bursar's and recall that many of the staff, at times, treated me either with disdain or like an 'inconvenience.' I had to brace myself EVERY time I had to approach any of these offices. I never knew what the response was going to be.

The indication that race was a factor was:

quite often, all you needed to do was notice the difference in the response you got compared to those that went before you in a line at some office. Yes, I had to "furnish proof" every time. My word was never enough.

Unfair treatment served to contain the graduates in positions of subjugation. As a process of containment, unfair treatment placed impediments to the graduates pursuits of academic goals as well as recreational activities.

Underestimation of Abilities

Underestimation of the intellectual abilities of Black graduates represents the process of marginalization. Essed (1991) explains that "historically the idea of White intellectual superiority has been one of the most persistent features of Euro-American ideologies on race" (p. 232). Reactions based on the assumption that Black people are intellectually inferior characterize some of the race related difficulties participants experienced. One participant explained:

There were expectations by some faculty that minority students could not or would not excel as majority students, so one would always have to go an extra mile to prove oneself or to be accepted.

When a Black student's academic and intellectual abilities were incongruent with the assumptions held by many Whites, the reaction was one of surprise. Participants

reported that their abilities were often questioned, especially their writing skills. When their writing skills were excellent, praise from professors seemed excessive; professors sometimes questioned whether the student actually did the work. After turning in the first draft of her dissertation, one participant later learned that her committee chair questioned whether she actually did the writing: "He expressed (to at least one other committee member) concern that the first draft of my dissertation was 'too clean' and wondered who may have done it for me." One participant commented: "There seems to be a general perception among White professors that Black students cannot write." Speaking of his difficulties at the university, another participant wrote:

Mostly this difficulty involved an underestimation of my abilities; Being advised to take a remedial writing course upon entering the school, despite an undergrad major in English; being advised that I would have difficulties with certain courses;...Surprise at my ability to articulate thoughts.

Underestimation sometimes took the form of discouragement from faculty members in their advice to Black doctoral students. Essed (1991) found that Blacks are sometimes discouraged by someone in a position of authority "who is supposed to give them good information but tells them to forget whatever they are planning because Blacks do not do well" (p. 242).

A woman in the social sciences told the story of a White male professor who told her that he didn't think she would be effective working with Whites clients:

It was a practicum course and I was one of the younger students admitted to the program. Most of my classmates were much older. So rather than conceptualizing it as an issue of "She does not have as much counseling experience as some of her peers," it was conceptualized that I probably would not do well working with White clients. So I might need to think about getting

out [of the program] or I might think about working with majority Black clientele when I finished.

She said that she was devastated. She, however, showed no emotion when the professor talked to her. She explained that she was sad for a few days and then she got angry and planned her strategy for responding to the professor. Believing that White Americans pride themselves in having rational and logical thought and action, she decided to appeal to those qualities in dealing with the White professor. She explained her response:

At the beginning of the next quarter during a weekly meeting I told him "We need to talk about the feedback you gave me last quarter. Your perception was that I could only work with Black clients, I disagree with that because I think I can work with a wide variety of clients including White people, and here is why." I laid out stuff, and I said, "If your bias is going to be that I can only work with Black people then I'm afraid that you are not going to be able to see my true skills because you already have this bias that I can't do it. If that is going to be the case I would like us to talk about whether I need another supervisor for this quarter." Then I said, "Now I think I can do this, even though I shouldn't have to, I'm willing to try to prove this to you, because I have had to prove things to everybody all my life, so this is just another example of when and how I have to do that. If in my trying to do that this bias is still going to be there on your part then maybe I need somebody else who can really see beyond that and see my skills."

She explains, "At that point I had put it back on the instructor. His response was, 'Okay, I hear what you're saying, your point is well taken and we'll see what happens.'"

An African participant spoke about the view of some Whites that some Blacks are not qualified to be in graduate programs. In speaking of his discussions with his White classmates about racial issues, he explained:

When they wanted to talk about it [race issues] they would look at me and say, "Well, you're Black but you're not Black." They do that when they are about to start talking down on Black Americans. "I tell them, we are all Black. Don't say that to try to make me feel good." They would comment, "Well, you work hard, you work very hard, you are smart, you do this, you do that...Some of them [Black Americans] that come here, they come here without having the qualifications." I tell them, "That's not true. I have taken classes with most of you and I know how you perform."

The view that Blacks have been admitted to graduate programs without the skills needed fuels the resentment of some who feel that Black students are taking opportunities away from "more qualified" people. Some incidents were sparked by the resentment that accompanies the belief that Blacks have been given handouts by the larger society. Describing a meeting he had with a White male professor, someone whose advice he sought as he contemplated changing his program of study, one participant explained, "that was the first time I ran across a professor at the university who came across as being extremely racist." He explains:

He was condescending to me. He assumed I was there for a handout, he made generalities about me as a "typical Black student." I never will forget, I told the guy, "you know, you ought to be ashamed of yourself... I didn't come

with a hand out, I came simply for some consultation and advice." ...this was a professor who supposedly was fair minded to all students. The things he said to me came across as extremely racist, came across as extremely condescending and I told the guy, "you know, this probably means that I will never get my doctorate from this university, or from this department, or this college." I told him, "you ought to be ashamed of yourself that you don't see me as a student, you see me as someone who is Black, who is trying to get a handout. I didn't come asking any special favors from you. You are supposed to offer consultation and advice." He made the statement "You will never get your doctorate from this university, because you don't have the skills to do it." He said "you have played around." I told him "you know nothing about me, you know nothing about what I have gone through." I came away bitter.

The participant in this incident chose to confront his perpetrator head on, allowing his emotions to come through. It is apparent in his response to the professor that he understood the consequences of his actions. He realized that as a result of confronting the professor, he would probably not get his doctorate from the university.

As graduate students the participants' skills and abilities were questioned by White professors and students. This underestimation as Essed (1991) explains: "is a crucial legitimization of the continuing exclusion of Blacks from fair access to and use of resources" (p. 232).

Denying Opportunities

The denial of opportunities to Black students was another racial indignity suffered by some participants. As part of the process of marginalization, attempts

were made to deny opportunities to some participants. One participant told the story of a White male professor who seemed determined to have her removed from the program. As she considered the professor's history of racism and her previous interactions with him, she was convinced that his actions were motivated by racial hatred. She explained:

A conservative activist is what he called himself. He was a person who had an undergraduate student who wrote a four part series on race, and he was the person that sort of advised the student and edited the article he wrote. The guy wrote things like Black people don't have a work ethic and Orientals have a work ethic. This professor was the person who, while he didn't put him up to it, helped him with it and patted him on his back for what he had done.

The White students who were my friends would come to me and would tell me the negative things that he would say about Black people in his class. He was teaching a class in which there weren't any Blacks and all he did was talk about Blacks, Jews and Hispanics because there weren't any in the class. So I knew that this man's attitude was racist, and I knew I would have trouble with him.

Speaking of her interactions with him, she explained:

I would try to make appointments to see him and he would never show up for them...But when I would finally catch up with him, I would ask him for advice on taking the test. He would never give me any advice. But then I would talk to White students who were about to take the exam and he had given them all kinds of information. I went to some of the White students and I would say, "You know, I have a question about this one theory here and this one book. I wonder if he's going to focus on that or if we should look at

something else." They would say "I don't know," and I would say "well, maybe when you go see him maybe you should ask him." I didn't come out and tell them what was happening because they would have just been in denial about it. They would go and ask him and he would answer their questions but he never would answer mine. He would always say to me "don't worry, it will be just fine." I knew that he was giving me the brush off.

Once he got frustrated and he told me, "if you want to learn anything or if you want to prepare yourself for this test, I'm not going to give you anything. You have to go over to the library, you have to go to the stacks, you have to find that information on your own." He basically was saying, "I know you're asking for special privileges and I know you're asking for a hand-out." Yet the White students would ask the same questions and he would go all out of his way to help them and make suggestions. I wasn't asking him anything that they weren't asking him.

She commented, "When I talk about someone who didn't want me to get the degree he comes to mind." She encountered the professor again when she sat for her comprehensive exams.

I had to take an exam in a certain area and he was the only person who was in a position to chair that committee. I knew I would have trouble. I ended up failing the comprehensive exam twice because I kept having to deal with him. The only reason I eventually passed it (I almost got kicked out of the program because of that one test) is because they hired two new professors and I started working with one. The new professors were the people that made the questions out and had a part in the grading. Before they hired them the only person who could have handled that portion of the exam was the conservative

activist, and I knew I would never get past him. That would have meant (and I went straight through) that after all the years of struggling through a bachelor's, a master's, finally getting to a Ph.D., having gotten past the other two tests with flying colors, I would have been kicked out of the program.

Another participant wanted to complete a second Ph.D. in a field of study related to that of his first doctorate. He was denied the opportunity to complete the second degree for reasons he later found had to do with his race. He explains:

I told them I was interested in getting a Ph.D. in that department....They said I needed 24 hours for a second Ph.D., then they said I needed to take comprehensives to pursue the Ph.D. in their department. Well, comprehensives are never a prerequisite for gaining admission into the program, never! All of my classes in that department were mostly A's and B+'s. I wrote a letter to the person who was the dean of the college at that time and we met with the director of the program. He [the director] commented that I was trying to get in through the back door. I took the comprehensive exams. There were three of us. When the results came out I was the only one who did well. The other two people had marginal pass and they were majors in that area. Despite my performance on the comprehensive exam, despite the fact that I completed all of the core courses in the program, they turned me down with no justification. But one of them (A White professor in that department) told me in confidence that I was denied the chance to pursue the second Ph.D. because of my race. He even encouraged me to sue.

When asked why he decided not to pursue the matter he commented: "they let me know they didn't want me....I decided I wouldn't push anymore, and I was not going to sue anyone."

Obstruction of opportunity is another example of marginalization. The attempt to deny a graduate the opportunity to complete the degree, in one case, failed as a result of fair minded professors who evaluated the students' work and deemed it acceptable. In the other case, the student was denied the opportunity to pursue a second Ph.D.

Exclusion

Exclusion, a function of marginalization, was another form of racial indignity experienced by some graduates. In her study of Black women, Essed (1991) found that Whites often avoid or withdraw from social contact with Blacks. She explained that marginalized positions are created through practices of exclusion. Dealing with the isolation of the graduate experience and searching for a sense of belonging with the other students in her program, one participant described the response of White students' when she tried to join their study group to prepare for the comprehensive exams:

I was really trying to get into some type of study group. I wanted to feel like I was at the same place where they were, that there was not something that appeared to be obvious to me but maybe needed to be amplified in some kind of way. I really wanted that sense of belonging. There were a couple of people I approached about being in their study group, because I heard them talking about it. It was like I was just instantly brushed off. It kind of bothered me initially, and then I was talking with one of the same guys again and I said, "I really would like to have an opportunity to get with you and

study." I think maybe he construed that as my wanting to siphon off their ideas. I don't think he saw it as there being a possibility of me making a contribution but rather that I was there to rape their knowledge. I was very taken aback by that, and so when I finally had it sink in, I realized that really nobody wanted to study with me. After I got over the feeling of inferiority, which was fleeting, I might add, I saw him again and I said, "Well I feel real good about my comps, I've been praying about it and I have every confidence that I'll do well." This guy said to me, "Well, yeah, praying is okay, but you need to study."

Speaking of the same student, she recalls the irony of justice in life and the lesson she learned from the experience:

He never did finish...he failed his comps three times. I didn't delight in that because I felt very badly for him, I felt very sorry. It was, however, instructive to me that I should never have gone through that moment of feeling that "well, maybe, I'm not as good as they are." It didn't matter how secure I was in other aspects of my life; in that one isolated arena I allowed them to make me feel that I wasn't as good as them.

Insults

At times, students had to deal with insults. Some incidents of racism also crossed gender boundaries. One participant described a racist incident involving a White male student during a class session:

We were talking about this case of police abuse and illegal search and seizure. We were talking about the case of a Black woman. The police came into her home and did an illegal search and seizure. They were looking for gambling

paraphernalia, they found that this woman was indeed a person who did the numbers, so she did have this gambling paraphernalia in her home. She alleged that not only did they come and search her home without a warrant but that they also raped her 26 year old daughter. There was a lot of evidence that the police raped her daughter. When we were talking about the case, this guy raised his hand. (I had had several confrontations with him over racial issues.) He made this comment, saying "There's no way this woman's daughter could have been raped, she just made that whole thing up." Although the case said that she had a lot of evidence to back up her claim. They did an examination of her daughter that showed that she indeed had been raped and that the police probably were the people who did it. Some of the policemen even bragged about what they had done, they admitted it. This guy said, "Well, that's impossible because Black women don't get raped. I used to play basketball when I was in high school, and some of my Black friends used to brag about the things they did to their girlfriends. They were rough, and Black men are just well endowed anyway they have these abnormal body parts. So for a Black woman to say that she's been raped is a lie because each time she has any kind of relationship with a Black man it's just like being raped, and they tend to like it." Then he looked at me and said, "Isn't that right." I looked at him, and I just sat there just stunned. The room got real quiet and everybody looked at me, and the professor tried to change the subject real quickly, because I guess he could see that I was just steaming.

Having prided herself on being one who could control her temper under the most difficult circumstances, she explained:

I just totally lost it! I don't even remember what I said to him, but all I can remember was just screaming at him and then getting up and just running out of the room. I had never handled any kind of confrontation with racism that way, not only in school but anywhere, because I know that that is the worst thing you can do. But that day, I guess, I just couldn't help it .

She explained why she previously tried to avoid confrontations with Whites:

They want you to lose your temper and scream and cry and get up and run out of the classroom, because then you make yourself look bad and that is what they want you to do. You have to learn to respond to what they are saying without making yourself look angry. White people can get angry and throw things all the time, but it is different when you are Black.

In discussing the anger and betrayal she felt, she explained:

I was angry at several things, one thing was the fact that he was bold enough to say this...I was also angry at the fact that half of the people in that class (there were about 11 students in the class) were [White] women and not one woman other than me got offended. Now, I would think that what he said was not only racist and a stupid thing to say, but it was sexist as well. Because he was saying that women liked to be raped, although he was directing his comments at Black women, he was saying that women liked to be raped, and that is certainly not true. These women claim to be such feminists, and they were so hyped up over Roe v Wade and all of the other cases that dealt with gender or abortion. Yet on that particular day they didn't say anything. They tried to pretend that they were such feminists and they were such liberals and it didn't surprise me that they didn't get angry about it because they didn't see

that it was one of them. There were people in the class [including the women] who felt that I was wrong and that I owed him an apology because he had the right to freedom of speech, which I agree, he does. But I have a right to freedom of speech too, and if you come to class and make a statement to insult me like that and to insult Black women, I have a right to say whatever I please. There were people who felt I owed him an apology, but they didn't feel he owed me anything.

The race related difficulties experienced by some participants stem from the belief of some Whites that Blacks are an out group, intellectually inferior persons who have been given "handouts" by the larger society. The above incidents made clear that some White professors and students made efforts to exclude Blacks from full participation in the educational process by unfair treatment, underestimating their abilities, attempts to deny opportunity for skill development, withholding help and information, and/ or openly denigrating the Black race.

Responses to Racism

The Graduates' Response

The responses of the participants to the racial indignities were either acceptance, negotiation or confrontation depending on the situation and the personality of the participant. Some participants accepted the indignities, understanding that it is perhaps better to let some indignities go unchallenged in any substantial way. Perhaps they realized that a victory would never make up for the time and energy they would lose in the battle. These participants simply decided "It wasn't worth it."

Negotiation or diplomatic bargaining was another response to race related difficulties. Believing that the idea that reason is superior than emotion is one of the

values of White American culture, some participants sought to appeal to this value in presenting their cases for reversing actions by Whites that denied them opportunities. Perhaps believing that sometimes silence is betrayal, other participants confronted their perpetrators head on, allowing their emotions to come through. They made their feelings and position clear, despite the risks involved. Given the politics of the doctoral process, it is wise to maintain cordial relations with professors and colleagues. Confrontation presents risks for graduate students, regardless of race.

It is important to note that the race related incidents cited do not characterize the daily graduate school experiences of the participants in this study, they simply illustrate what a few of the participants experienced and their response in light the difficulties.

Response of Whites to Racism

In her book examining race in America, Katz (1979) wrote: "the race problem in America is essentially a White problem in that it is Whites who developed it, perpetuate it, and have the power to resolve it" (p. 10). One of the ways racism was perpetuated by Whites was by their tolerance of racism. There were Whites who failed to speak up or take action when witnessing racial indignities against Blacks. They participated in the perpetuation of unjust actions against Blacks by their silence or by their denial that a wrong had been committed. These were sometimes the same Whites who talk about social justice and diversity. Katz explained that "The White American citizen talks about equality and says that she or he believes in it. Yet alongside this profession is the truth of oppression and denial of selfhood to citizens of color" Katz and Ivey's study (as cited in Katz, 1979, p. 12).

One man talked about an annual award given to the best teaching assistant in his department. He was disturbed by the fact that Black graduate students were never

nominated for the award. After he left the university he spoke with the chairperson of the department. He explained:

*He said to me, "You know I was surprised that no one ever nominated you ."
And I said to myself, "Hell, if you see injustice as a chairman, why don't you
step up and say, 'Hey there is something wrong here.'"*

One White student, on the other hand, took a stand and accompanied a Black classmate as she confronted a White professor about his unfair grading.

Lessons Learned by Whites. An important step in resolving the problem of racism on an individual level is to understand and examine its basis and how it is played out in the individual thinking and actions of Whites. There were two cases in which White professors who acted on racist stereotypes appeared to have begun to examine the assumptions they held about Black people. After telling the student that she would not be effective working with White clients and that she should consider limiting her clientele to Black people or consider leaving the program, the White professor apologized to the student, after she had proved her skills with patients of all races. She recounted it this way: "We kind of talked about it as the quarter went on, and at the end of the quarter he told me, 'I think I misjudged you and spoke out of line.'" She responded: "I think you did!"

One participant had a number of confrontations with his committee chair. After his chair told him that he had never dealt with a Black man who was not a domestic, the participant explained:

I told him that he had a lot of learning to do. He was from the East Coast, and he said that when a White suggested something to a Black, that was the way it went. I told him "Well, you're not there now, you are here, and you are

going to encounter all kinds of Blacks and many of them are going to be very aggressive."

This person had other confrontations with the same professor, race related and otherwise. When he finished the program, the participant explained: "At graduation he came out and he hugged me, and said, 'This has been a real learning experience for me, I'll never forget you.'"

Lessons were perhaps learned by those White professors who appeared to think that the African American student is some exotic creature they need to handle in a certain way. The first African American doctoral student in his department told the story of his former advisor who, years after he completed his degree, went to dinner with his former student and his wife. His advisor told them the story of the departmental discussion prior to the student's arrival at the department:

He said that the big question in the department was who was going to have me as a student, and I think there was some apprehension, he expressed, on the part of other professors. They didn't know how to deal with a Black student, they had never had one. So he decided that he would take me as his student. He said that the other professors asked him, "How are you going to treat him?" That was the big question. His response was, "I'm going to treat him like the rest of the students, no differently." And, he didn't treat me any differently.

When asked if there had ever been any indication during his doctoral program that such a discussion had taken place, he explained:

Never in my life would I have known if he hadn't told me. Every quarter one of the professors would invite all of the graduate students over to his house at

the end of the quarter for a party. They would rotate to all of the professors and all of the faculty in the department. It was very informal, very, very, casual. On that night when we were together they were like students and we all did the same things. We all participated in intramural sports - students and professors.

The Black doctoral graduates did their share of educating, perhaps unwittingly. Their very presence in some cases forced Whites to deal with them beyond the traditional socially prescribed roles, to understand them beyond the negative images ingrained in the minds of many Americans. For the first time, many Whites experienced Blacks in a competitive academic setting. They witnessed the doctoral graduates' competitive natures as well as their insecurities, their high level of academic competence as well as their shortcomings, their virtues as well as their failings. For those White professors who were not busy trying to crush the efforts of Black students, they were able to see in their Black students glimpses of themselves in all of their humanness. These glimpses, perhaps, forced some Whites to take a longer and harder look at themselves, their thinking about race and their actions toward Black people. Some Whites were, in essence, forced to question how racism had affected *their* lives.

Gendered Racism

For some women, gender related difficulty was another factor intertwined with the difficulties of race. Sharing in the country's pattern of discrimination, along racial and gender lines, Black women experience what Epstein (1973) refers to as "the double whammy." In examining the experiences of Black women in light of this dual

discrimination, the concept of gendered racism is appropriate in understanding the place of gender in racial discriminatory practices.

In the study examining Black women and racism, Essed (1991) discussed the concept of gendered racism. She points out that racism operates as a distinct ideology and structure and is combined with other societal structures of domination. In the case of Black women, racism often combines with the structure of ethnic perceptions of gender roles, creating a phenomenon of racial oppression referred to as gendered racism. The concept of gendered racism is perhaps best illustrated in the images of Black women in American society. Essed (1991) explains: "These images are rooted in the exploitation of Blacks as slaves, workers, and with respect to Black women, in particular domestic workers" (p. 32). Black men are also confronted with racism based on racist constructions of gender. She points to the images of Black men as absent fathers or rapists. These have been powerful images that preclude a place for Blacks in White academe in the minds of some. The degree of gendered racism the women in this study experienced is difficult to identify.

Reflecting national enrollment trends, the number of African American women in doctoral programs at the institution increased in the 1980s and continued to increase into the 1990s. In 1993, the National Research Council reported that for the first time in history Black women earned more than three-fifths of all doctorates awarded to African Americans (Journal, 1995). When the women graduates of the 1960s and 1970s were probed regarding gender related difficulties, one participant responded that she made it clear to a White male professor that putting his hand on her knee was an inappropriate, unwelcome and unacceptable gesture; others reported no gender related difficulties. The women of the 1980s and 1990s also reported virtually no difficulties that they could identify as gender related.

There appeared to be a generational difference in the level of consciousness regarding issues of gender. When prompted, the graduates of the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s did not, or could not talk about the issues they faced as women in a male dominated institution. It appeared that they had never considered the impact of gender in their experiences. In a study examining the experiences of professional Black women, Leggon (1980) found that the Black women she interviewed perceive a hierarchy in which race usually ranks above sex. When the issue of gender was raised, one participant in this study, a graduate of the 1980s explained: "I think there were probably more issues related to being Black than to being female in the department." Perhaps their level of consciousness regarding gender issues was a result of their coming of age in the Civil Rights era and during the Black Power movement. In this era, race rather than gender was the salient issue for Blacks in America.

Discussions of gender with the graduates of the mid to late 1980s and the 1990s, however, reflected an awareness of the issues for women in a male dominated institution. Their awareness was no doubt a reflection of the influence of the women's movement. Though they reported virtually no gender related difficulties, their discussions reflect the intersection of race and gender in American society. In an examination of Black feminist thought, Guy-Sheftall explains that

Black women's experiences with both racial and gender oppression result in needs and problems distinct from White women and Black men, and that Black women must struggle for equality both as women and as African Americans.

(as cited in Collins, 1991, p. 20)

Whether a problem is gender related, race related or both was sometimes difficult for participants to distinguish. In regard to the difficulties that she sometimes

faced during her doctoral studies, one woman said, "I didn't know if it was racism, sexism or just egos!" The same participant recalled a conversation she had with a White male professor concerning the problems she encountered in the field as a Black woman. She explained:

I had an older [White] professor ask me one day if when I'm out in the field I get more problems because I am a woman who is an engineer or because I am a Black who is an engineer or because I'm a Black woman who is an engineer. I told him, "Basically, I am a Black woman and you can't distinguish between the two."

In her study of Black women, Leggon 1980 explained that "the Black woman is a product of the confluence of unique sociohistorical, economic, and psychological factors" (p. 190). Belonging to two oppressed groups, Black women share in the patterns of discrimination based on both gender and race.

Though they reported virtually no gender related difficulties, women experienced a higher rate of race related difficulties in their departments than men. The question is to what degree did gender factor into their difficulties if, in fact, it did. When one participant was asked how she could tell if the difficulties she encountered were gender or race related, she responded:

It was then and still is even to this day sometimes really hard for me to sort out what's more because of race and what's more because of gender. Sometimes I can tell if White women are getting the same kind of treatment that I am to an extent, that's evidence for me that it may be more gender related. But if I'm getting some treatment that I see White women are not getting sometimes, then for me, I think more in terms of it possibly being a race issue.

Again, the degree to which the Black women in this study were faced with gendered racism is difficult to gauge. Given the structure of discrimination along race and gender lines in American society, it is conceivable that gender played a part in most of the race related difficulty encountered by the women in this study.

Coping

The strategies employed by the graduates in completing their doctorates were coping resources that they drew upon for strength and comfort. The psychological concept of Optimal Theory provides a framework for understanding their coping resources. The theory serves as a framework for understanding identity development which is inclusive of spirituality and recognizes self-knowledge as a crucial part of growth. Self-knowledge assumes that self-worth is intrinsic and independent of external forms and it includes "full awareness of relationships to the ancestors, the yet unborn, nature and community" (Myers et al., 1991, p. 57). Interrelatedness, another component of the theory, is the recognition of the connections that are important in life. Myers and Speight (1994) explain that the important aspects of optimal theory are that "A spiritual connection with all of life is acknowledged. Interrelatedness, interdependence and cooperation characterize human relationships" (p.104).

The graduates drew upon several resources in working through the difficulties associated with the doctoral experience. While many of the participants experienced difficulties encountered by students regardless of race, the variable of race, in some cases, exacerbated these difficulties. In other cases, race was the sole reason for the difficulty. When asked what helped them to stay on course and to complete the degree, the themes that emerged from the responses suggest a strong sense of self and

of "connectedness." These two themes capture the variables identified by the participants in both the questionnaires and the interviews.

Strong Sense of Self

The participants' strong sense of self was demonstrated in their belief in themselves and their response to issues of race. This sense of self encompasses an understanding of themselves and their position as Black people in America. The doctoral graduates understood the obstacles they would have to overcome as Black people occupying spaces that had been traditionally closed to them. As one participant explained: "I knew that ...I would have problems and that I would encounter racism, but I knew that I would have the chance of getting the degree if I did the work." In understanding that racism might at any moment inflict its indignities, the participants maintained a proactive mindset in their thoughts and dealings with issues of race. This sense of self was manifest in the doctoral graduates' determination to accomplish their goal and in their capacity to engage a sometimes racist world.

Determination

The doctoral graduates exerted will power in accomplishing the goal of obtaining the degree. As one participant stated, they "never backed down!" In examining the concept of will in the lives of Black women, Peterson (1992) describes self-will, in part, as the ability to "transcend forces that would act upon humanity and destroy it, to be self-caused" (p. 1). In transcending forces that have the potential to damage one's sense of self, the doctoral graduates maintained a fundamental belief in their abilities and persisted in spite of the obstacles. As self-caused individuals, they exerted their will in realizing the goal of obtaining the doctorate.

Their determination was revealed in positive self affirmations and the ability to transcend difficulties during the process. In speaking of his response to what can be the damaging effects of the doctoral process, one participant explained:

Most of the feedback you get is negative in this process, it's feedback about your shortcomings. If you're not careful you find yourself questioning whether or not you are capable and deserving. But, I thought back on my life and I realized that I have always been an achiever, I have always done well, I am somebody and I am worthy. So that sense of belief and commitment to working hard and persisting saw me through.

Part of transcending difficulties was to engage adversity on a higher level either spiritually or philosophically. Revealing his determination to complete the degree, another participant wrote of how he prepared daily for the psychological battles that came his way.

I had been exposed to hardship before graduate school and knew very well the value of prayer and persistence. I HAD A DREAM. I was going to make it! I refused to allow the intolerance I witnessed around me impede my progress. I prayed everyday, recited Psalms and was always ready to do battle -- this was what it amounted to most of the time.

They shared their philosophies that guided their response to adversity. When asked what helped him to stay on course and to complete the degree, one participant wrote: "I have adopted this simple philosophy: 'Difficulty is the appetizer to the entree called learning.' I was committed and determined to complete the Ph.D. program."

Another participant explained: "I remained on course to complete the doctoral degree based on full determination and my motto "L. A. W." The acronym, he explained, stands for:

L: Little by little, small by small, a long journey becomes short, hence

A: Aim high, work hard and be contented because

W: When determination exists, the flag of success can never be dismounted.

The graduates maintained their sense of self by transcending difficulties that could have undermined their self-worth. They refused to allow external forces to deter them from completing the degree or from destroying their sense of self.

Proactive Stance on Matters of Race

When you think of racism and discrimination, racism says something about the racist, it doesn't say anything about the person who it is being directed against.

James Baldwin as paraphrased by one of the participants

In her study of 100 successful Black people, one of Benjamin's (1991) findings is that while some individuals are proactive in their response to the negative emotional impact of racism, others are reactive. She explains:

Individuals who are proactive incorporate racism as a major impediment in their lives, but they accept some responsibility for overcoming it. Individuals who are reactive accept only self-blame for the negative emotional stress from race or they blame the system. (p. 231-232)

Many of the participants were proactive. They brought to their graduate experience, or in one case acquired, a particular view of race relations and a certain

predisposition for handling racial concerns. One of the characteristics of the doctoral graduates was a strong internal locus of control relative to race. Locus of control refers to an individual's sense of personal control in relationship to their environment (Abatso, 1982). People with a highly developed internal sense of control, as explained by Coulton et al. (1989), "perceive themselves as having control over environmental reinforcers; in other words, they generally expect that what happens to them will be contingent upon their own behavior" (p. 627-628). One participant explains:

I never naturally assume that when somebody does something that it's race related, or it is because of race. If anything, I try to assume that it is not. Because if it is race, it's something I can't control. So, I assume I can control it. From my standpoint when I say that I felt it was racially motivated, I have tried through all of my processes of reasoning to assume that it wasn't.

This proactive stance toward race includes a particular view of the issues faced by Black people seeking to excel in America. One participant explained:

One of the things that my parents always taught me was that you are not equal; in America you will never be equal. Equality is not the issue, the issue is opportunity. As long as someone doesn't stand in your way and impede you in getting to where you need to go in life, that's all you can really ask for. We always grew up with the understanding that you just couldn't be equal, because equal automatically meant that you were behind, you had to be better to even appear equal.

They understood that sometimes people's reaction to their race would present obstacles, but these were often viewed and handled much like other obstacles in life.

The same participant explained:

you always expect to some degree that there are going to be people along the path that are going to try to put you down, just like there are going to be people along the path that are going to try to lift you up. You don't look at the put downs as reasons to give up, you just look at them as part of the process and obstacles that are going to be there just like anything else. It's not the first time I have dealt with this, and it has never stopped me before, it's just part of the process.

In the optimal framework, the developmental goal is to gain self-knowledge; engaging in self examination is an essential part of the developmental process.

Another participant explained how as part of his personal development he reached the point of taking a proactive stance in dealing with matters of race. He explained:

There was an incident that really symbolized, for me, and made very clear, the dilemma I faced. One day I was at the university center, I was in line at the students' activity area where tickets are purchased. I was there to get a ticket for a game. While I stood there basically with this grimace on my face, not engaging anyone, I noticed how the White folk in front of me were handled by the person [a White person] selling the tickets. They exchanged pleasantries and they chuckled. The person most immediately in front of me had this really pleasant exchange and I thought, "Oh, that's really nice." Then I stepped up there and it was like, "What do you want?" I just thought, "Is it me?" I probably had this look on my face like I was ready to tear up the world, but at the same time I thought, "Boy, I didn't even get a chance, why didn't she

engage me the way she engaged the person who came before me." I don't know to this day if it was me, or the person who handled me. It was probably a little bit of both.... I recalled that experience as one that left me really wrestling, I asked myself, "Am I going to let this kind of stuff eat at me and destroy me or am I going to work at being a more constructive and engaging individual." If you are not planning to engage in full scale revolution you probably have accepted that you are going to live within the system and try to make it work. The challenge for me then was to engage individuals in a way that would ensure an acknowledgment of my humanity.

As a function of a strong sense of self, the participants' maintained belief in themselves and their abilities. They refused to allow negative race related incidents to undermine their efforts nor color how they characterized their experiences. Myer et al (1991) explained that those operating at the optimal level of functioning may feel brief pain or outrage at the psychological violence committed against them, but they do not feel oppressed by the situation. She further explained: "Individuals do not react to the situation by giving the perpetrator power over them. The perpetrators do not influence their sense of self" (p. 61). While they acknowledged racism as an impediment in their lives, it appears that they did not assume that their race was the reason for all of their difficulties. They also took responsibility for seeking to overcome actions on their parts that could make their interactions with others less than positive.

Connectedness

The participants revealed a sense of being connected to others. This sense of connection, however, was on a number of dimensions. Their connections were, first,

in their relationship with God; second, in their relations with others; and third, in their sense of connection and responsibility to history. Reflecting deep spiritual values, the doctoral graduates spoke of the place of God in their lives and the belief and faith that guided and comforted them. They also identified important relationships in their lives including family, professors, and classmates. Providing them with a sense of shared purpose and struggle, these relationships were important systems of support during the doctoral process. The graduates carried with them a sense of history, a keen awareness that their efforts were part of the overall efforts of Black people to elevate the race. Memories of the struggles of those who had gone before them and thoughts of those yet unborn helped to sustain them during difficult times.

Spirituality

*My continued connection with God, my faith, His
grace and mercy --brought me through some dark times!*
Participant

Spiritual belief in the lives of African Americans has historically been identified as one of the systems of survival of an oppressed people (Cone, 1975; Mitchell, 1975; Cooper-Lewter and Mitchell, 1986). Spirituality is understood as "a way of being and experiencing that comes through awareness of a transcendent dimension" (Myers et al, 1991, p. 57). Identified as an essential aspect of being in the optimal framework of identity development, spirituality allows people to transcend the conflicts in society.

Participants listed prayer, the church and belief in God as some of the things that helped them stay on course and complete the degree. In speaking of the place of her beliefs in her graduate school experiences, one participant explained:

*My religious beliefs colored my thinking about what strategies I would use to
make it through the program....There were times, many times, when I thought*

that either because of something that was going on, or competing agendas in my life, that I just wouldn't be able to make it. God just always renewed my strength, always.

In examining the spiritual belief systems of African Americans, Mitchell and Cooper-Lewter (1986) described this approach to faith as a core belief. They lay out the components an African American belief system which served as a framework in this study. They explained that these beliefs are more than conformist creeds, "they are the bedrock attitudes that govern all deliberate behavior and relationships and also all spontaneous responses to crises" (p.3). When asked what helped her through the difficult times, one participant explained:

I'm a Christian, so that is my life philosophy and it's centered around my faith, my walk in Jesus Christ. I channel everything, all of my life experiences, back through that funnel. I was in a very good church and I was actively involved in the life of that church. That really is the bottomline of what got me through.

While church attendance is an activity in maintaining connection with one's community of faith, it also served as a social outlet, allowing forms of cultural expressions: As one woman explained: "It was the place where I could be 100% unadulterated Black. I could sing loud, talk loud, laugh loud and cry. That was important because I think with the rest of my life I kind of held back a little bit."

In explaining how she stayed on course and completed the degree, another participant wrote: "I put God first in my life - set goals; kept focus and God carried me through." Mitchell and Cooper-Lewter (1986) explain that the core beliefs are attitudes about trusting God. "They are acquired through life experiences, worship, and cultural exposure" (p. 3). Identifying herself as a life long "church goer" and

explaining that her faith in God was her first line of defense in helping her through the process, one participant explained:

when you step out on faith, you surely don't know, but if you ...step out there and let Him lead you, He can carry you to great heights, if you will be obedient.

One of the affirmations of the core belief is that "God is in charge." In explaining that she felt that she was following God's plan for her life, one participant explained:

For other students their anchor was their intellect, their solid GPA that they had coming either out of graduate school or undergraduate school. Their anchor was their knowledge that if they got the degree and then went and did additional research that they could eventually get some grants to study things that had always been pressing issues in their life. None of those were my anchor. It was strictly my belief that God had a plan for my life, and being in that department was a part of that plan....There were so many processes and the anchor that I had to keep me from floating out to sea was my belief, my 100% belief that it was through God's grace that I was in the program.

After discussing instances when he was deciding whether to complete his doctoral program, one participant spoke of his beliefs and how he turned to God as he made his decision. He explained:

I remember there were several instances where I wanted to drop out of the program. I really believe in God, I believe that everything that I have comes from God, everything that I have belongs to Him including my life and my wife and my sons. I prayed and asked God, "If it is your will that I get the

doctorate would you please allow me to get it. But, if you don't want me to get it, would you shut every door, close off every avenue so that there is no doubt in my mind that you don't want me to get it."

Their beliefs comforted them in times of doubt and kept them focused. Feeling isolated after reaching out to her White classmates and being rejected, one participant explained:

it was almost as though the Lord used many of those situations to remind me that 'daughter without me you are on your own anyway and with me it doesn't matter about those other people. I'll allow you to do what I need for you to do and don't get so absorbed in whether or not you're not being embraced or whether or not someone may think you're not good enough.'

Interestingly, twice as many women as men cited spirituality as a coping resource. Spirituality, identified as an important system of survival of the oppressed, was, perhaps, an especially important coping resource for Black women who reported a higher percent of difficulty in their departments, where most of their time and energy was spent. Gender related differences are examined in chapter 6.

Mitchell and Cooper-Lewter (1986) explain that the affirmations of the core beliefs speak to the nature of God. "it also guides beliefs dealing more directly with humanity" (p. 98). While all of the participants of the study have experienced the indignities of being looked upon as second class citizens, it appears that many believe in the intrinsic equality of all persons and in the equity of God's justice.

Relationships

The participants spoke of those persons important to them in the process of completing the degree. These relationships provided psychological and social support. In her book examining relationships in adulthood, Rogers (1983) explained that adults need social and psychological resources as they face the events and crises of adult life. Relationships provide affiliations needed for survival; they serve as a buffer against the social environment; they provide support and affirmation; and they help to mediate change. Relationships played a crucial role in helping the doctoral graduates cope with difficulties. The significant relationships identified by the participants included familial relations and relationships with faculty and peers.

Family

The place of the family in the life of scholars, as found by Willie (1986) in his study of Black scholars is an important one. Willie explains that the family system in the lives of the scholars in his study, though not the most powerful system, is the most enduring. Without it, the systems of education and professionalism would not function. Many of the scholars in the study reported here identified familial support as one of the resources that helped them to stay on course and to complete the degree. When asked what helped her to complete the degree, one woman said: "I depended on things like family reunions and friends and family telling you to hang in there." Another person wrote: "I had support from family." Family is not always limited to blood relations, however. In some cases it included church families and the Black communities in which the participants were raised. One participant wrote: "My small church family sustained me spiritually." Another one explained: "I developed a network with the people at church. I could call them and get the kind of inspiration and support that I was missing on the other side."

In the context of the Black experience in the U.S., familial relationships play an important role in providing support in the struggles associated with race. As Peterson explains:

We share our lives, and struggles with family, friends, and community and from this sharing gain the strength to struggle some more. We dream and by sharing those dreams we "keep the dream alive." (p.29)

The family provided an essential level of support in the lives of the participants. Though by the time they entered their doctoral programs they maintained separate households, the participants received support from their family throughout their formative years. The family supported the participants by equipping them earlier in their lives to handle adversity and in stressing the importance of education.

Thirty-nine of those interviewed were first generation college graduates and spoke of their family backgrounds. When asked what their family's response was to their plans for college, almost without exception, family members encouraged and supported them. Though most of their parents were not college educated, 65 percent of the participants explained that their parents expected them to go to college and stressed that view early in their lives. One woman explained:

My mother always talked about how important education was. She would tell us, 'I'm leaving Alabama so that you won't have to walk through the mud and rain to get an education.' Education was planted early in my psyche as the thing I needed to get. When I came of age, it was automatic. I think the behaviors and ideas were there when I entered elementary school, junior and senior high school.

Another participant said: "It was something they expected. They knew I was going to do it from the time I started school, it wasn't a surprise." One man explained: "My father was always an advocate of higher education. Even though he only went through the seventh grade....He always talked about the importance of going to college"

When asked what his family's response was upon realizing he was going to college, one participant spoke of the influence of the church:

Well, my mother and father, especially my mother encouraged me to go. I had a rich church upbringing. It seemed as though there was a level of expectation for me by a large portion of the church congregation. It seemed as though there was an expectation that I was going to go somewhere and do something, you know, be something.

Many parents made certain that their children would obtain a higher level of education than they had. When asked about her family's response to her plans for college, one participant said, "Oh it was a given. That was something they had not done....So no matter what, we were going to get an education."

Parents who were college educated assumed their children would carry on the tradition. A third generation college graduate explained that her father, a high school science teacher, was instrumental in creating in her and her siblings a love for science:

Daddy would come home and he would say things to us like, "Do you know that the melting point of ice and the freezing point of water is the same temperature?" and we would say, "NO DADDY, IT CAN'T BE, HOW CAN ICE MELT AND WATER FREEZE AT THE SAME TEMPERATURE?" He would come home and give us these tidbits. He had us out in the yard looking for Sputnik. He really inspired us.

Speaking of the importance of the family in the lives of Black scholars, Willie (1986) explains: "It is the structure through which young people receive nurturance, support and protection...the family remains essential in educational and career development. It can orient one toward or away from extended formal schooling" (p.106).

One participant spoke of the family support she received: "All the way through I have always had a lot of support and encouragement from my family. I had that no matter what..." Even those parents who initially did not understand the significance of college training eventually came around, as one participant explained:

My mother was extremely supportive, my father, being of that generation of Black men who didn't finish high school, was minimally supportive, initially. It was largely a totally unknown area to my father. The example I always give was that he didn't see reason to help us with tuition, but whenever any of us got our first job he made sure we had bus fare and lunch money for the first month until we got our first check. That made sense to him, he knew those were needs we were going to have. Tuition was just a foreign concept to him. Once my father started telling his friends and family that he had kids in college, seeing their response caused him to have a major turn around....as we went farther along, he became more supportive.

Historically, education has been of primary importance in the lives of Black people in the U.S. Its perceived power and life transformative possibilities has made education a factor in making freedom real for the freed sons and daughters of slaves. Education has been fundamental in the cultural determination of Blacks. In examining racial barriers in the experiences of Black students at a White university, Feagin, Vera, and Imani (1996) interviewed the parents of students in their study. The authors found that for the parents

Education is about a liberated future that must be better than the oppressive past. Pressing hard for higher education for children today is linked to the strong educational aspirations of the African American in the distant past and recent future. The prospect of a successful future for one's children and grandchildren helps to justify and give distinctive meaning to the collective suffering and struggles of the past and present. (p. 22)

In light of the historical struggles of Blacks in the U.S., three participants in this study heeded the advice of parents who told them, "Get your education, it is the one thing they [the White man] can't take away from you."

The participants did not speak much of their families' support during the doctoral process. But it appeared that the families were supportive of their pursuit of the doctorate, even if family members did not always understand the process. In responding to his mother's inquiries about his expected completion date, one participant explained:

When I couldn't tell her when I was going to graduate, I could almost hear the silence, as if she were saying to herself, "This guy must be awfully dumb, he can't tell me when he's going to finish school." Then I would try to explain, "Ma, I will be finished when I have done enough."

The Marital Relationship. Twenty-nine of the participants interviewed were married while pursuing their doctorates. Sixty-nine percent were men and 31 percent were women. Both men and women identified the importance of spousal support, but spoke of their spouses in very different ways. The women did not speak directly to the marriage relationship or their husbands as sources of support, but spousal support was apparent as they made mention of their husbands in speaking of their experiences.

The men spoke directly to the marriage relationship, identifying their wives as important sources of support. In a 1976 study examining the personality and effects of graduate school on the development of adults, Lozoff stated that some students found that the graduate school experience enriched their relationships through providing support and shared knowledge. From the men's accounts, their wives were enablers who encouraged them to continue and pushed them to get the work done. One man identified his wife as his major supporter through out the graduate school process, and spoke of her influence in his decision to pursue the degree:

She is the one that convinced me to go to graduate school. I have been married 35 years; I can't remember when I wasn't married...She pushed me and I decided to go and try it, because you know with the family and all , I just wasn't sure I should leave my job.

When asked what helped him to stay on course, one participant wrote, "a supportive and encouraging wife." He further explained:

The times that I was disgusted and fed up she would say, "look you need to go to the library, you need to get this thing done." I would tell her, "Well there is this thing going on at school with the PTA," she would tell me, "Don't worry about it, I will handle it. You go on and get the degree."

Another man said:

Well, I think one of the biggest things that I had to support me...is that I was married at the time. My wife was a source of support, emotionally, and morally. A lot of students are going through grad school and don't have anybody but themselves; they don't have anybody to talk to. I mean somebody real close. A husband and wife team is about as close as you can

get, even closer than blood relatives. So I think that was a real source of support for me.

The women, however, spoke of their spouses in a different way. They spoke of instances in which they sought their husband's advice and followed their counsel in handling difficulties in the doctoral process. An African woman discussed how her husband helped her to understand and deal with the difficulties of race that she encountered during her schooling in the U.S. Spousal support, it appears, was as important to the women as it was to the men. The men, however, readily identified and spoke directly to the marriage relationship as a source of support. The women indirectly identified spousal support. A higher percentage of married women moved away from home to pursue their graduate studies. The fact that their spouses were, to some degree, removed from the process may have increased the likelihood that the husbands would not have been directly identified as sources of support.

Relationships With Faculty

Faculty support, interest and advice were important in the professional development of the scholars. A number of studies have identified positive relationships with faculty as a key component in a scholar's development (Edmonds and McCurdy, 1988; Blackwell, 1987; Nettles, 1990). In surveying the characteristics, experiences and aspirations of African American graduate students in predominantly White institutions, Allen notes that "poor relations with faculty are likely to result in decreased opportunities for teaching and research, denial of essential mentoring relationships, lower grades, and less likelihood of introduction into professional networks" (p. 10). Approximately one-fourth of the participants identified relationships with faculty as one factor that helped them through the

difficulties. These relationships often off set the potentially destructive effects of the race related incidents they experienced with other faculty.

There were those relationships that may be categorized as mentoring relationships. The mentors' function as described by Levinson (1978) is to sponsor, guide, provide counsel and support their proteges. "The mentor also functions to help in the developmental task of realizing the dream" (p. 98). Three participants had what appeared to be mentoring relationships with their major advisors. One participant, who transferred from a Black undergraduate institution to a predominantly White institution, had a particularly difficult time at the White undergraduate institution. She wrote that her experiences at the master's degree level helped her to "recover my self esteem and sense of accomplishment." She explained:

That was largely due to one professor. The same professor who was my master's and doctoral advisor. He left the White college I attended to chair the program at the university at which I completed my doctorate. He actually recruited me there. It was like he recognized almost immediately what he perceived to be my gifts, talents and abilities. He told me later that when he looked at my transcript from the Black college I had attended (left there with a 3.8 average and my graduating GPA at the White institution was 2.26) he said he just looked at the differences in the transcripts and knew that something had happened, particularly, he said, once he had me in one of his classes. So from day one he seemed to tap into what he perceived to be my abilities and just really pushed me and encouraged me.

The professor was a Canadian, "he wasn't the typical White American" Another woman had a White woman professor as a mentor. Speaking of her doctoral program, she said:

There was one faculty member who later ended up being my major professor and to this day is still a mentor of mine. I had written a paper in an ethics class that she taught. My paper had been on the fact that it was unethical for us to work with diverse clientele when we didn't have any training in working with different groups. So she approached me about developing a class about dealing with multicultural counseling and multicultural issues. Then the two of us co-taught the class.

She explained that the same professor has been instrumental in her professional development.

After having a negative experience with a White professor who told him that he did not have the skills to get his doctorate, one man spoke of his encounter with another White male professor who became his major advisor.

He had heard about my run-in with this guy, and he said, "Can I meet with you." He took me to lunch and said, "I'm not going to apologize because that guy that you talked to is a real [horses rear]. I don't want you to think that he is typical of the professors in this college. I hope you don't mind, I got a copy of your transcripts. I would like to talk to you and try to convince you to switch your area of focus and come into my department. I really believe that you have got the skills. You can get what you want, I assume you want the doctorate." We talked about the job and career market and everything.

He spoke about their relationship:

As I got a chance to know him he did things that he didn't have to do. He did not make any dispensations for me, he did not cut me any slack. He guided me through a lot of things that I was not aware existed in the university

community....He was very, very instrumental in shepherding me through the program....I don't know how other major professors handled their students, but in my estimation, he did everything right....I even acknowledged that in my dissertation. I referred to him as a professor, a colleague and a friend.

While a few appear to have had mentoring relationships with faculty, most relationships are best characterized as dependable sources of support at various levels, often with expressions of mutual admiration. Speaking of his major advisor, one man explains:

I can say that my advisor is more than just a good scientist; he is a good person. He was one of best people to work with because of his rapport and the way he treated people. He treated you like a person regardless of what color you were.

Having failed a portion of his preliminary exams, the same man spoke of the support he received from his advisor:

I didn't think I wanted to finish....My advisor encouraged me to go ahead and finish and he gave me support and told me how to study for the exam...So when I took it over I was ready, and I did well the second time around.

Some professor were enablers who made their students' success a priority. Speaking of his advisor, another man explained:

I think he had a strong desire for me to do well. In graduate school I was supposed to spend about twenty-five percent of my time working for him in the laboratory and on his research projects, and I made myself available for that. He would encourage me to go to the library and do some things for

myself, rather than spend my time in the laboratory doing things for him....He would let me take time to make sure I was up on my other studies. I always appreciated that from him.

For some their relationships with professors helped to alleviate the isolation they experienced. One man said:

My major professor played an important role throughout and included me along with his wife, in social activities at his home and other places. While this had little or nothing to do with preparing for my career, it did reduce most feelings of isolation.

One woman spoke of the relationship she developed with a Black professor in whose lab she taught while at the university:

We developed a great relationship....He had us over to his house and the kids just really liked him. We got along very, very well. His friendship was part of why the experience was so positive. I don't know if I could call him so much a mentor as a friend and a colleague who just made things so much easier.

In a study examining why students decided to forgo graduate studies at two major U.S. institutions, Stanley (1990) found that the type of relationships (positive or negative) between faculty and graduate students was a significant factor in the decision to pursue a doctoral studies elsewhere. "This is an even more significant factor than relationships with classmates, friends, parents, self and others" (p. 99-100).

Speaking of the strong relationship he had with his advisor, one participant explained:

"I think every student should have that; without it, the process is not complete....I

guess that's why I remember so positively my experience at the university." The relationships with faculty reported here is consistent with this ideal.

Peer Relationships

Peers also provided systems of support for the doctoral graduates. They identified their fellow students as persons with whom they could talk and share ideas. These relationships served as a system of support among those with shared experiences. Peer relations provided informal support networks that allowed for integration. In a study examining the experiences of minority graduate students, Duncan (1976) explained that these informal networks teach "the 'rules of the game' that are integral to survival. They are learned not from catalogues, professors, or administrators but from peers" (p. 230). One woman described the support her peers provided: "We had our battles in our departments, and I think having other students around whether in my department or another department was helpful in providing insight into to how to handle some of the issues."

Peer relations were a source encouragement and an outlet to discuss issues. One man explained:

There were students to whom I could to talk. There were students going through the same thing. So it was not uncommon for me to be giving various friends pep talks and vice-versa.

One woman described her relationships with classmates:

I can recall three classmates who I felt very comfortable with; interestingly enough they were two White males and one White female. We could sit down and discuss the issues; we would get together (one of them in particular) after class and we would do homework together and talk about issues. [One of the

men] would bring up things like, "Well what did you think when so-and-so said what he said about Black folk?" I could talk to him about those kinds of issues.

Peer relations provided a safe place to share their ideas and make mistakes. Comparing the culture of the professional world with that of graduate school, one man spoke of his peers while a graduate student:

They were the people who you could give your papers to and they would read them. It was a support group. That was a very good feeling. You were more likely to take a risk, you were more likely to throw out an idea that maybe sounds ridiculous, which is always good.

Speaking of his professional experiences, he explained:

I find here that I am more reluctant to do it because your peers will judge you. One of the differences between graduate school and the work environment is that in graduate school you can use your peers as more of a spring board. In the professional world it's different.

There were some formal outlets developed by students to facilitate peer relations. When asked what helped her to stay on course and complete the degree, one participant's response was: "The support from other minority students." She explained: "We had a minority student organization....There were several of us from different departments. We had regular meetings and basically supported each other." Another participant spoke of the same organization:

We would meet and discuss our experiences in various departments and programs....we talked about the Black experience particularly in the university. Those meetings helped a lot.

The peer relations provided participants with a "place" to sort things out, outside of the evaluative mode that often characterizes professor-students relationships. They provided informal opportunities for learning and understanding others. The students had an equal voice in these relationships, and, in some cases, shared the more vulnerable parts of themselves. These relationships were characterized by equality and mutual admiration.

Historical Connection

That persistence did not come from thin air, it was grounded in an acknowledgment of history and those strong folks from whom I have come... and all of those folks in the African community pulling for me and wanting me to succeed.

African American doctoral graduate

...the basic unit of human reality is not the individual human being but rather a cluster of social ties and relations that extend across space and time.

(Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996,p. 16)

The findings of this study revealed that the participants acknowledged of their place in history, and the possible influence of their attainments on opportunities for future generations of Black scholars. This historical connection was another coping resource on which they drew upon during difficult times. While about 25 percent of the participants interviewed spoke directly to this sense of the past and future, others alluded to it, making reference to the past struggles during the interviews. Turner and Bruner, 1986 explain that "Present experience always takes account of the past and

anticipates the future" (p. 8). The doctoral graduates seem to have experienced the past, present and future, all at once. They spoke of those who went before them, those who by law or tradition were locked out of educational opportunities, as well as of future generations of Black scholars. They acknowledged their role in the history of the Black struggle and seemed determined not to let the past or future generations down by allowing the difficulties of doctoral studies defeat them. The degree was not for them alone, but for those who fought and died so that they might have the opportunity to obtain the degree. Having occupied spaces that were traditionally closed to previous generations of their people, they were cognizant of the need to open those spaces even wider for future generations.

In optimal theory, self is seen as multidimensional "encompassing the ancestors, those yet unborn, nature and community" (Myers et al., 1991, p. 56). The purpose and meaning of life becomes clearer when one recognizes their connection with all of life. The graduates historical connections with the Black experience seemed ever present. The history provided them with lessons about life in its bitter struggles and fueled their sense of determination. In a 1996 study by Feagin, Vera, and Imani examining the experiences of African American undergraduate students at a predominantly White university, after interviewing the students and their parents, the researchers found that

African Americans retain within the oral and written traditions of their families and communities much knowledge of this racial history. They and their ancestors have experienced this history in painful detail. (p. 17)

One participant spoke of how the stories her grandmother, who was born into slavery, told her about the difficulties of life as a slave child. She described her grandmother as

"a very determined person who sent her children away to school way back in 1899."

She explained:

She said we all had to be educated: "Grandma's children are intelligent." She died when I was a junior in college, so I knew her a long time. Even today there are times when I have to say, "Now grandma back off," because that same spirit is still driving me. There is no way I can be grandma's child and not finish this business. I can start it, I can do it, I have the capability to do it, there is no way I could quit, because grandma did everything without anything in terms of what I have to use.

In relating a bit of family history, another person explained:

My mother has a third grade education. She is the product of this oppressive system that has restricted and limited her life options. I had an opportunity even though in many ways I was damaged. There was a lot wrong with the education I received in the public school system in my home state. But at the same time, I knew I could do this. I was determined to complete it by standing on the shoulder of the African, the slave, the share cropper, the segregated, the resegregated. The sense of being connected to others who came before you.

One woman told the story of her father being denied admission to a White university because he was Black. Years later she was offered a professorship at that same university. Speaking of her father, she explains:

One of his greatest joys was when I accepted a teaching position at the White university that denied him admission years earlier. He really wanted me to go to college there, but I refused because I was of the mindset that "if they wouldn't take you then I'm not going." I think he really wanted me to attend I

wouldn't even consider it. When the whole thing fell in place with the job there, he told me, "you have an opportunity that was not open to me and it's on a higher level." So he was really pleased, and I have come full circle with not ever wanting to be affiliated with the institution.

Like the participant's father, some of the earlier graduates who wanted to attend graduate programs at the predominantly White universities in their home states prior to 1954 could not do so because of White-only laws and conventions. For some, the sense of history included not only the experiences of their parents and foreparents but of events in their own lives.

Though the graduates drew pride and a renewed sense of commitment from this sense of history, it could at times be a bit of a burden. In explaining what helped her to cope when things got difficult, one participant explained:

I put it in perspective. The whole notion that all the foreparents and people who came before me had to deal with adversity and that we come from a strong line of dealing with adversity. It wasn't for me to say, "I'm going to give up on this." So I would kind of pull back on that, even though sometimes it felt more burdensome.

As she reflected on her plans to improve her scores in one class after having received the lowest exam grade in the class, another person explained:

Getting that low grade and having everybody automatically assume it was me because I was a minority and to know it was me catapulted my commitment to a new level. When I said I would make an A in that class, I meant it and I did. Those kinds of situations, while they compel you to put your best foot forward, they're very draining because you don't like feeling that if you fail

you not only fail yourself, you fail to open up opportunities for other minorities who may come behind you because you haven't demonstrated that you're a cut above the level of mediocrity. I felt that I had this albatross around my neck, and if I didn't shed that albatross then I was penalizing future generations of African American students.

In light of Black America's history, many of the doctoral graduates realized and acknowledged that obtaining the degree was not something that they simply did for themselves. When asked what helped her to stay on course and to complete the degree, one participant wrote:

Recognition that my success or failure had implications for more lives than simply my own (i.e. a commitment to the visions and dreams of those who had gone before me - - paving the way for me to have that opportunity).

One participant recalls one of several times that he considered leaving the program. He received a call from a Black professor in his college encouraging him to stick with it. Speaking of the professor, he explained:

I had said nothing to that professor about dropping out of the doctoral program. I guess he saw that look in my eye. He told me, "You're not doing it for yourself, you're doing it for some of the other Black students who will come after you." He said, "Whether you believe it or not, you and the few Black students that are in doctoral programs are role models. You may not want to be, but you don't have a choice. You owe it not only to yourself but to the other students who need to see Black students successfully matriculating through doctoral programs."

He explained that that phone call helped him to put things in perspective and motivated him to complete the degree:

You know when I was pursuing my doctorate, until that phone conversation I had with that professor, it was basically a selfish thing. But that phone call that night, I never will forget; it was about three hours. He talked about his experiences, the problems that he went through, and a lot of the insults he had to endure. His point was, "I am not trying to put you down, but I just want you to know that I blazed a trail and in a sense you and every other Black doctoral student are blazing trails. The problem that we have right now in higher education is that the number of Blacks students in any doctoral program is a minuscule fraction of what the number ought to be." He said, "It is going to take people like you to help lay the trail, let other students know, and to encourage them that it can be done." I had some very good professors in my graduate program, but that phone call from him was key in encouraging me to stay in the program and not give up.

The connections in the lives of the doctoral graduates equipped them to face and rise above the difficulties of the doctoral process. These connections addressed some basic human needs in light of the very specific cultural circumstances of Black Americans. Spirituality addressed the human need to believe that there is some greater power directing our lives and intervening in events on our behalf. Reflecting the deep spiritual values of a people, this was a greater power which the graduates worshipped, served and called on anytime. Their relationships with others fulfilled the need to have their humanities affirmed in light of the struggles they faced as Black people in America. Their acknowledgment of their place in history perhaps fulfilled the human need to know that the accomplishments of one's life would not go unnoticed and

would somehow affect history. In light of the Black American's history of struggle, this sense of history was especially keen in the graduates. While the coping resources addressed basic human needs, they became especially important during the doctoral process where the struggle for the Black American is still one of beating the odds.

Policies and Programs Targeted at Minorities

This section discusses the policies and programs developed by the university in targeting its minority student population. It examines the students' level of awareness of the policies and programs as well as their perceptions of the effectiveness of the programs. Practices that helped or hindered the doctoral graduates are also discussed.

Policies and Programs

Over the past twenty-five years, the university instituted policies and programs directed at minority populations. Though many of the policies and programs have targeted undergraduate minority students, a number were developed to offer financial and professional development support for minority graduate students. There have been regional and national programs that include the Ford Foundation Predoctoral and Dissertation Fellowships for Minorities, The National Science Minority Graduate Fellowship Program, the Patricia Harris Roberts Scholarship, the Robert B. Bailey III Minority Student Scholarships for Education Abroad, and the Minority International Research Traveling Grant (The Graduate School, 1995). The university-sponsored programs include the Black Graduate Fellowship and the Black Graduate Opportunities Program (The Graduate School, 1995). At the departmental level, assistantships are usually offered to students admitted into doctoral programs. The

university appears to have worked at addressing the financial impediments to graduate study for Black students.

Some attempts to address the social and psychological impediments through activities were sponsored by the university's Black Cultural Center and the Office of Minority Student Affairs as well as at workshops on diversity, open to all, conducted by the Office of Affirmative Action. The chancellor of the university appointed a Commission for Blacks designed to advise on planning, implementing, and evaluating university programs, policies and services as they relate to Black students, faculty and staff. The university has also made attempts at increasing racial diversity on campus by encouraging Black applicants to apply for openings at the university.

Awareness of Policies and Programs

When they were asked about their awareness of policies addressing minority issues, 59 percent of the doctoral graduates indicated that they were not aware of such policies; 38 percent reported that they were aware of such policies, and 2 percent reported that such policies did not exist when they were students (see Table 45). Their responses by decade show that the lowest level of awareness by students was in the 1960s and 1970s. Seventy-four percent of the 23 participants from the 1960s and 1970s reported that they were not aware of policies addressing minority issues, while 26 percent were aware of such policies. In the 1980s, 58 percent of the 33 participants reported that they were not aware of policies addressing minority issues, while 36 percent were aware of policies. Six percent indicated that no such policies existed when they were students at the university. In the 1990s, 50 percent of the 32 participants reported that they were not aware of policies addressing minority issues. Forty-seven percent were aware (see Table 46). It appears that the university's

Table 45

Awareness of Policies and Programs

Response	Number	Percent
Aware of Policies	33	38%
Unaware of Policies	52	59%
Policies did not Exist	2	2%
No Response	1	1%

effectiveness in communicating policies and promoting programs to enforce these policies improved with each decade.

When asked about the effectiveness of programs implemented to enforce policies, 11 of the 33 participants (33 percent) who were aware of the university's policies addressing minority issues reported that some effective programs and procedures were developed and implemented. Fourteen (42 percent) reported that the university made a modest attempt to implement and enforce the written policies, while 5 (15 percent) reported that the programs and procedures put in place were short term or ineffective. Two participants reported that the university made no attempts to implement programs while one participant indicated that he was not sure (see Table 47).

Two graduates, one from the late 1960s and the other from the early 1970s reported that they were not aware of policies addressing minority issues. They indicated that if the university in fact had such policies, it made no attempt to

Table 46

Awareness of Policies and Programs by Decade

Response	1960s & 1970s	1980s	1990s
Aware of Policies	6 26%	12 36%	15 47%
Unaware of Policies	17 74%	19 58%	16 50%
Policies did not Exist	--	2 6%	--
No Response	--	--	1 3%

Table 47

The Effectiveness of University's Policies and Programs

Responses	Number	Percent
Effective Programs and Procedure	11	33%
Modest Attempts to Implement and Enforce Programs	14	42%
Programs Short Term or Ineffective	5	15%
Made no Attempts to Implement	2	6%
Uncertain	1	3%

implement and enforce these written policies. When asked about the programs of which they were aware, the doctoral graduates of the late 1960s and 1970s listed the Affirmative Action Office and recruitment efforts at a branch institution. A task force on Blacks and other minorities and the clinical psychology program's active recruiting of minorities were also cited.

A graduate of the 1980's indicated that he was aware of policies developed by the university to address minority issues:

When I said the policies, I knew, for example, that the university was looking for minority graduate students and particularly those who were willing to work on the Ph.D. I knew why they were looking for those who wanted to work on the Ph.D., because at that point they needed to report a certain number of minorities and, of course, I knew that there were fellowships and assistantships that were available.

The graduates of the 1980s also listed recruitment efforts at both the university and department levels as well as departmental scholarships as efforts to increase Black enrollment. Participants of the 1990s listed recruitment efforts, departmental grants and university-based fellowships. Two graduates of the 1990s were university employees while they pursued their doctorates. They knew of the university's attempts to create a more racially diverse campus, they also knew of the shortcomings of the efforts. One participant explained:

I had the opportunity to participate in various search committees and to understand the dynamics of developing cultural diversity at the university. I knew they were trying, I knew they were trying very hard.

The other participant indicated a perceived lack of commitment by the university's administration.

What I sensed was that those programs were in place not because those who were administering them believed in them and thought that they were the things to do; it was something that they had to do. They were not pursued with the kind of energy, vision and enthusiasm that would ensure not just existence but prosperity and success. I think it is in the hands of the wrong people. I just sense that there is not a great deal of commitment to this whole idea of diversity and providing opportunities for those who have been historically locked out.

The same participant spoke of the university's initiatives in light of its response to an out-of-court settlement. The settlement was made in response to series of law suits that charged that the state was perpetuating a dual system of higher education. The stipulation of the settlement established objectives for hiring Blacks and for diversifying the racial composition of the student body. While the initiatives on paper show the university's diligence in developing and maintaining a commitment to diversity, one participant explained:

The university has to talk about all the great things it's doing. That's where you see it most, when they've talking about how they work to overcome the problems of discrimination and segregation. In writing it sounds really good, but in practice it's quite another thing.

In inquiring about a program developed by the institution to attract and retain minority doctoral candidates, the same participant explained:

What I learned was that nobody knew who was in charge of it. I know that money exists to fund it...When I asked about it, I found out that nobody knew who was in charge and how much money was available. One time it was believed to be in the Office of Affirmative Action, then I think it was moved to another office. I wasn't sure exactly where it was. I recall asking, "Where is the literature on these programs so that people can know about them and figure out how to go about securing access?" But I didn't find anything that was hard and concrete.

Participants of the 1980s and 1990s were also aware of the university's Black Cultural Center (opened in 1976) but it seemed peripheral to the graduate students' lives. The Black Cultural Center provided informal and formal academic and culturally relevant activities for students. Those who spoke of it indicated that they were too busy to focus on extracurricular activities. Others indicated that it seemed that the programs and activities sponsored by the office focused primarily on undergraduate students. Three graduates also spoke of a Black Graduate Student Association which, over the years, had gone in and out of existence. Those who spoke of it indicated that it provided an outlet to meet and talk with other Black doctoral students and Black professors.

Though a level of awareness of the policies and programs of the university targeted at minority populations existed, the highest level of awareness was less than fifty percent. Fewer than twenty percent of the participants listed any of the regional or university-sponsored scholarships or fellowships. No participants identified the Commission for Blacks as an organization of which they were aware. It is reasonable to assume that some participants were not aware of some funding opportunities because those sources did not exist while they were students. In contrast, the

participants had a higher level of awareness of university and departmental minority recruitment efforts. Two participants reported that they were involved in such recruiting efforts. It appears that they knew the university was trying to actively recruit minorities.

Ways the University Helped and Hindered the Graduates

The university's recruitment efforts were recognized by the graduates. There were those who were involved in the recruitment activities and seemed appreciative of the university's efforts. The retention efforts, however, tell a different story. While numbers reflecting the Black graduate student attrition rate are unavailable, two graduates spoke to the university's retention efforts. Recognizing the university's recruitment efforts, one woman wrote: "Institutional efforts toward desegregation seemed to produce efforts to admit more minority students, but the commitment to those students' retention was much more variable and individualized." Stating that some minority students experience "cognitive dissonance" after starting their doctoral programs, one woman explained:

They attracted me here....They encouraged me to apply. They had all of these encouragements and inducements, you know tangible incentives. When you get in the classroom people resent the fact that you are there. People automatically assume that some concessions have been made for you. That is where the cognitive dissonance comes in. On one hand there are these support systems that are in operation at the towers [university administration], then you go into the classroom, and into the department and it's something totally different.

The university has been accused by some in its Black community of being a revolving door for Black faculty and staff. The percentage of Black faculty dropped from 4.2 percent in 1990 to 3.64 percent in 1995. Consequently, the university failed in retaining a substantial number of Black role models.

In examining the policies, procedures, or practices that helped or hindered the graduates, it appears that for those participants who completed the process, the university's financial assistance, in whatever form, helped. While the money offered is generally not enough to sustain most students, Black or White, it appears that money was not the primary issue for the graduates. What appeared primary for many of the graduates was having a sense of belonging. Graduates who had the more positive experiences expressed having a sense of belonging in their departments.

Departments that fostered a sense of belonging helped to make the graduate school experience a safer one. This was particularly important for those graduates who encountered race related difficulties, often in those same departments. There were professors who were fair and treated the graduates with the dignity accorded to most White students. There were a few professors who were described as mentors, people who took genuine interest in their growth and development. The graduates also experienced a sense of belonging as a result of the consistent positive interaction with some classmates. Some of the graduates who did not experience this sense of belonging alluded to the isolation they sometimes felt. One participant expressed his frustration in trying to find a mentor in his department.

I regret that I did not have a mentor throughout my program. As I know it, mentoring involves a mutual, albeit unwritten, agreement between the mentor and mentee. I sought a mentor in my department but never could get anybody to 'sign up.' I felt like some of the faculty was cautious around me and never

really truly accepted me as 'just one of the guys,' without any special requirements, habits, mannerisms.

In her study examining the adaptation of Black graduate students, DeFour (1986) found that there are consistent relationships among social integration, psychological well being, academic performance and potential attrition rate. She reports:

Those students who were satisfied with the support for personal and academic issues perceived themselves as performing better academically than those who were not. These students were also less likely to have thought about dropping out of school (p. 58).

She also found that the Black students' nonschool contacts with Black faculty are a "significant predictor of students' status on both mental health and perception of performance factors" (p. 59). She cites the importance of Black faculty in the retention of Black students.

The university culture hindered the students by not having a larger Black population of both students and professors. The doctoral graduates spoke of their needs and those factors that would have made their lives and their experiences richer. Speaking of the need for relationships, one participant explained:

I very often struggled with the real void of not having a reference group, not having a group of people with whom I could dialogue about issues that were very pressing, about realities for me as a minority student and do fun things.

This quotation captures the sense of being a minority student in a predominantly White institution.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This summary highlights this study's major findings, including gender and generational differences in the experiences of Black doctoral graduates at a predominantly White university. Implications for institutions of higher education relative to Black graduate students are presented. Recommendations for additional research are offered.

Major Findings

In providing insight into the experiences of Black scholars in White academe, this study has addressed three main areas:

- o The race related experiences of Black scholars in White academe.
- o The strategies employed by Black scholars to successfully complete their doctorate.
- o The institutional practices that helped or hindered the success of Black scholars in White academe.

In addition, the graduates' assessment of how well their undergraduate experiences prepared them for graduate school and their post-graduation careers are examined.

Race Related Experiences

The graduates' experiences of race revealed its place in their lives as graduate students and as Black people in America. They understood the difficulties they might encounter in a predominantly White institution, but these difficulties were not enough

to deter them. They did not allow race related problems to define their graduate school experiences.

Thirty-one percent of the total population reported race related difficulties in either their departments or with the other offices, programs or departments at the university. Racial indignities were manifest in unfair treatment, underestimation of abilities, denial of opportunities, exclusion and insults. It appeared, however, that race related difficulties did not characterize the overall experiences of the doctoral graduates. Their discussions of experiences at the university did not focus primarily on issues of race. Less than 10 percent of the participants who reported race related difficulties, either on the questionnaire or during the interview, indicated that their memories of the university were negative. None reported "strongly negative" memories. The overwhelming majority indicated that both the university's and departments' climates of racial acceptance were "somewhat accepting." Even two participants who were victims of blatant racism identified their department's racial climates as "somewhat accepting."

The pervasiveness of racism, however, was reflected in the responses of participants whether they reported race related difficulties or not. Such comments as "Race is always a factor" or "Racism was an influencing factor which still exists" from participants who did not report race related problems perhaps allude to subtle, unconscious discriminatory actions of which many Blacks are keenly aware. Though their language in capturing these experiences was, at times, as subtle as the experiences themselves, it was part of the students' daily experiences, a familiar aspect of their lives as Black people in America. Therefore, to conclude that most of the participants did not experience race related difficulties would be inaccurate. It is more accurate to state that, overall, most of the Black doctoral graduates did not report

experiences of blatant racism. At the same time, it appeared that they experienced racism in its subtle forms.

The Black doctoral graduates came to the university expecting that, for some Whites, their race would be a problem. The prevailing attitude among the participants across generations, regardless of gender or place of birth, was that so long as race did not impede their progress, they would not make racial issues *their* problem. When asked whether race was an influencing factor in the difficulties she encountered, one participant responded: "It may have been....I was too focused to deal with the *other person's* problem. The race issue was not mine."

How the doctoral graduates responded to various forms of racial indignities appears to depend on factors internal and external to the students. In the face of racial difficulties, the graduates refused to allow the negative actions of a few to impede their progress or to color to any large degree how they characterized their experiences at the university.

Though the problems associated with being in graduate school are sometimes exacerbated by the fact of race, one participant said, "It's difficult to know." There were those who indicated uncertainty as to whether race played a role in their difficulties. Ten percent of those who reported difficulties in their departments and one participant who identified difficulty in other offices or programs of the university, indicated that they were uncertain about the role of race.

Most of the race related difficulties seemed to be negative reactions others had to them as Black people in a role traditionally occupied by White males. As a group, they appeared to be sensitive to the subtle nuances of White people's reactions to their race. Some experiences left them wondering whether their race prompted people's negative response to them. Questioning what happened in certain situations allowed other options to be considered in understanding what went wrong. Because of the

power of race in American society, it appeared that it was sometimes difficult for the graduates to distinguish whether interactions that went wrong were the result of a White person's reaction to their race, or due to some other factor. One participant explained, "I had my share of problems often couched in such veiled ways that I was confused, was it race or just plain intellectual arrogance and stupidity!"

Strategies for Success

In understanding what helped the graduates to stay on course and to complete the degree, strategies in the form of coping resources that are organized around two themes were identified; a strong sense of self and of connectedness. The connections that helped to make the process more manageable were spirituality - their connection with God; relationships - their connections with others; a strong sense of history - their connection with all who had gone before them in the struggle to secure equal treatment.

The graduates exhibited a strong sense of self in a determination that helped them to rise above the difficulties in their doctoral studies. Through reflection on their accomplishments and the adversities they had to overcome, they empowered themselves and stayed on course. They were also individuals who understood racism as an impediment in their lives but who accepted some responsibility for overcoming it. They also refused to allow the difficulties of race to define their experiences.

Connectedness refers to the relationships that were essential to their psychological and social well being. Spirituality, their relationship with God, was a reflection of their deep spiritual values. The graduates identified the prominence of faith in their lives. They exercised their faith in prayer, worship and, in some cases, church service. They felt that God guided them in the process of obtaining the degree, comforted them and provided answers in times of difficulties. Twice as many women

as men identified spirituality as a coping resource. This difference is discussed further in the section on gender differences.

The participants identified relationships with others as connections that helped them in the process of obtaining the degree. Family supported the graduates early in life by stressing the importance of education and developing in them a love for learning. The marital relationship also provided an important source of support for some. Spouses served as enablers who, by taking on additional responsibilities (usually domestic and parenting), offering advice, encouragement, and persistent prodding were essential in helping the graduates to stay on course and complete the degree.

Relationships with faculty and peers were also important sources of support. The support, interest and advice of faculty was important in reinforcing the students' sense of belonging, academic achievement and, in some cases, professional development. Some of the relationships might be characterized as mentoring relationships, in that some faculty members served as sponsors and guides, providing counsel and support to the graduates. Most relationships with faculty, however, are best characterized as dependable sources of support, often with expressions of mutual admiration.

Peers also provided supportive relationships. Participants identified some of their colleagues as persons with whom they could talk and share ideas. The peer relationships provided informal opportunities for learning in a "safe" place where they worked out ideas and difficulties. These relationships also provided them with strategies for negotiating the system when difficulties arose. The participants could also share the more vulnerable side of themselves in relationships that were often characterized by equality.

A sense of historical connection was discussed by some of the participants. They acknowledged their place in the history of the Black struggle and the influence of their accomplishments on the opportunities for future generations. They spoke of those who went before them and suffered so that they might have the opportunity to obtain the degree. For these participants, leaving without the degree was not an option. They believed, as one participant stated that "My success or failure had implications for more lives than my own." This sense of responsibility helped them to remain focused on the goal of completing the degree.

Institutional Practices

It appeared that the university made efforts to provide financial and professional development support to the Black graduates through regional and university programs and departmental funding. The university also attempted to address the social and cultural needs of its Black community through various social outlets. The students reported the university's recruitment efforts and seemed appreciative. Though financial assistance and activities for Black students were available, it appears that the need for financial support was not a primary issue. The graduates were also generally too busy for extracurricular activities. There were, however, some graduates who needed a sense of belonging, generally facilitated at the department level.

An analysis of relationships in the graduates' departments revealed factors that made for positive experiences. Persons who had positive experiences in their departments, revealed a fulfilled sense of belonging manifested in relationships with faculty and colleagues. For students who were single and pursued doctoral studies full-time, there appeared to be an essential need for a sense of belonging, especially within their academic departments. Students who were married with families and/or

worked full-time outside of the university did not express the same need for social and/or psychological fulfillment from the university. Perhaps such fulfillment was provided by marital/family relationships. Also, commitment to work responsibilities may not have allowed graduate work to become all-consuming. There were those, however, married and single, who pursued graduate studies full-time and spent a significant amount of time and energy in the university setting. The university played a more central role in their lives and was a place to which they looked for fulfilling some social and psychological needs.

A sense of belonging is a basic human need. Given the history of exclusion of the Black race in America as well as the attitudes of some who condone a resurgence of racial exclusion, even at the universities, fulfilling this sense of belonging becomes especially important for many Black students. This sense of belonging, however, was not fulfilled for a number of students. As a result, they experienced isolation and loneliness in the process of completing the degree. Some participants expressed the need for a mentor. One spoke of wanting a larger community of Blacks in which she could share her experiences. Though the university's efforts at recruitment were recognized and commended by some students, its efforts at retention have not been as successful. The university failed its Black community, it appeared, in not putting as much effort into retention as it did in recruitment. As long as the Black community remains small, Black students will have fewer options in finding a "place" in which to share their unique experiences as well as to find a sense of belonging when that need is not fulfilled in their academic departments.

Undergraduate Experiences

Their undergraduate experiences prepared them for graduate school by equipping them academically as well as by providing them with social and

psychological preparation. Over half of the participants attended Black undergraduate institutions, 40 percent attended White undergraduate institutions and 5 percent attended institutions outside the U.S. Three-fourths of the graduates felt that their undergraduate experience prepared them well academically. The perceptions of academic preparation by those who attended Black institutions and those who attended White institutions were comparable. In spite of the financial difficulties of some Black colleges, 67 percent of those who attended Black colleges reported that their colleges prepared them well; 67 percent of those who attended White colleges reported the same. The results were also comparable for those who reported that their undergraduate institution "prepared them adequately" as well as those who reported that their institutions "prepared them somewhat."

Their undergraduate experiences also prepared them for graduate school by addressing social and psychological needs through the influence of professors, extracurricular activities and lessons about race. Professors served as role models and mentors who conveyed high expectations and went the extra mile in helping students develop their skills. Extracurricular activities provided an opportunity to develop human relations skills and, in some cases, to assume leadership roles. These activities helped to prepare them for the roles they would assume later in life. Graduates who attended either Black or White institutions reported the influence of professors and extracurricular activities as ways that their undergraduate institution prepared them. Those who attended Black institutions, however, reported twice as often the influence of professors and the importance of extracurricular activities as part of their undergraduate experience. It appears that the Black institutions provided greater opportunities for these experiences.

The participants identified lessons learned about race as another way that their undergraduate institutions prepared them for graduate school. For those who attended

Black schools, such lessons centered on maintaining dignity and belief in self in light of racial discrimination. For some who attended White undergraduate institutions, this experience provided their first real exposure to Whites and acclimated them to White culture. They also learned about racism in the halls of White academe. Learning about structural and institutional racism and its subtleties and how to deal with White people were part of the learning for a few of the graduates who attended predominantly White undergraduate institutions.

Careers

Consistent with the traditional purposes of doctoral training, the majority of the graduates pursued careers in academe. During the period of this study, Fifty-five (63 percent) of the participants were employed at institutions of higher education. The negative racial experiences some participants encountered during their doctoral programs did not deter them from pursuing careers in similar settings. Seventy-one percent of the participants who taught or held administrative positions in junior colleges or 4 year colleges and universities work in predominantly White institutions. The high percentage of participants working at predominantly White institutions likely reflects the efforts of some institutions to increase the numbers of minority faculty. The fact that half of the participants held degrees in education also likely explains the high concentration of people in academe.

Gender Related Differences

Gender differences were exhibited in the Black doctoral graduates' memories of the university and in the types of difficulties experienced. Gender differences were

also apparent in the coping resources the participants identified in helping them to complete the degree.

Memories of the University

More men than women reported either strongly or mainly positive memories of the university. A higher percentage of women reported mixed memories. This finding is consistent with the fact that more women than men reported departmental difficulties. This finding is also consistent with the fact that there was a higher percentage of positive memories reported by participants, most of whom were men, in the 1960s and 1970s.

During the 1980s the overall percent of mixed memories increased significantly. This is perhaps due to the increase in the number of women, who more frequently reported mixed memories. The women of the 1990s also reported a higher percentage of mixed memories than the men, but a lower percent of such memories than the women of previous decades. The women who graduated in the 1990's also reported a higher percentage of mainly positive memories than the women of earlier decades.

Given the gender difficulties women face in predominantly male institutions, and the particular difficulties faced by Black women, the findings suggest that females have faced more problems in penetrating a system they were not meant to share. The women of the 1990s reported a higher percentage of mainly positive memories and a lower percentage of mixed memories than in previous decades. This perhaps reflects a changing university within a changing socio-political context which challenges sexist notions and, to some degree, seeks to better accommodate women.

The men graduates in the 1990's, however, reported a higher percentage of mixed memories than the men of the earlier decades. This finding perhaps reveals a

difference in the experiences of Black men of the 1990s in contrast to the male graduates of previous decades. The notion that the more recent graduates were more inclined to expect equal treatment and were perhaps more sensitive to unequal treatment than the graduates of previous decades may account for this difference.

Difficulties

A higher percentage of women than men experienced departmental difficulties. More men than women reported difficulties in the other offices, programs and departments of the university. A higher percentage of women reported their departmental difficulties as race related while a higher percentage of men reported their difficulties with other offices at the university as race related.

The typical doctoral student's primary departmental contact is with male professors. The professors shape the students' experiences in their capacities as instructors, advisors, mentors and role models. Studies have identified the difficulties women experience in male dominated institutions (Adler, 1976; Lozoff, 1976; Levy, 1982). To this the issue of race must be added; over half of the women identified their departmental difficulties as race related. As Black women in a predominantly White male environment, the experiences reported by some pointed to their rejection as women and as Black people. Four women in the study implied that race clouded the issue of gender and made it difficult to identify.

For Black men, the experiences described in offices staffed by Whites made them feel as if they were merely being tolerated. There were accounts of Black male students seeing how differently they were treated by university staff compared to White students. In one case, a participant realized that the woman behind the counter was perhaps reacting more to his demeanor than to his race. In other cases, the participants strongly suspected that others' reactions to their race was the cause for less

than pleasant encounters. One participant explained that as a Black man he realized that he is considered the "Boogie man" by some Whites, especially White women. The offices of the university are mainly staffed by White women. As the images of Black men as criminals, rapists and absent fathers (Essed, 1991) are considered, one can only speculate as to the possible influence these images have on interactions between Black men and Whites.

Coping

Though women and men employed similar coping resources in dealing with the difficulties of graduate school, more women than men reported spirituality as a coping resource. The literature on the Black experience in America is replete with stories of the powerful belief and communities of faith in which Blacks have sought comfort. Black women have typically offered strong support for and maintained these communities of faith. In her study of Black women, Peterson (1991) explains that "Black women are and have been the fundamental mainstays of the church. Though the fundamentalist traditions of the major African American congregations have kept women out of the pulpit and other leadership roles until recently, they still fill the pews on Sundays" (p. 80). Black women have traditionally maintained an active spiritual life through church attendance, service to the church and prayer. The women of this study identified these activities as part of their spiritual lives. Spirituality has been identified as a mainstay of oppressed people. This theme emerged as participants offered their perspectives on the challenges of graduate school, the added burden of racism and their response to difficulties. Given the history of spirituality in the lives of Black women and the fact that a higher percentage of women experienced difficulties, it appears that spirituality was an anchor for many of the women.

Generational Differences

Generational differences were reflected in the participants' attitudes and discussion of race as well as in their memories of the university. Graduates from the 1960s and 1970s reported the highest rate of positive memories at 83 percent, compared to 75 percent in the 1980s and 75 percent in the 1990s. While a decline is clear, three-fourths of the memories recalled were positive. The earlier graduates also reported fewer incidents of race related difficulties than graduates of more recent years.

Whether the graduates of the earlier decades experienced fewer incidents of racism or simply reported fewer incidents are open questions. Perhaps the earlier graduates, who had more likely experienced a heightened level of racial hatred in their lives, were simply not as disturbed by any racial indignities while pursuing doctoral studies. As she spoke of the racism she encountered growing up in the South, one participant explained: "You were used to stark racism. If it's something that you expect, then when you are exposed to it, it doesn't surprise you. It's almost like it doesn't even register." The more recent graduates, however, are perhaps more sensitive because they are inclined to demand equal treatment. In a study presenting the oral histories of the first generation of African-American graduates of the University of California, Berkeley, Morris (1995) explains that "eras of racism have their individual signatures." Speaking of racism in the first half of the twentieth century, she writes:

It was vicious but familiar -- a predictable demon, loose everyday, which daily had to be fought and tamed. One carried the variously healed scars from battle. But the knowledge that racism existed was itself a kind of taken-for-granted wound. (p. xii)

How one views and responds to an experience is inextricably bound by what one brings to it. The earlier graduates did not fool themselves about racism in America. They had already experienced efforts to deny them equal access in many areas of life. These students realized that their time at the university was an opportunity to make up for lost ground. The goal was to take advantage of the opportunity and to obtain the doctorate, come what may. As one of the earlier graduates explained, "Once you've experienced segregation, discrimination is a step up."

There is also the question of how the function of memory is reflected in responses. In an examination of memory and history, Thelen (1989) explained: "We expect the accuracy of memory to be shaped by the observer's physical proximity in time and space to the event." (p. 1119). The graduates' distance in time to their graduate school experiences along with related emotions might account for the emotional distance they seemed to have maintained when recalling events. They seemed not to be as disturbed by race related difficulties as the graduates of later decades. Subsequent experiences may be intertwined with earlier experiences, causing the graduates to "update" their memories. As Thelen explained: "They mix pieces from the present with elements from different periods in the past." Quoting Piaget and Inhelder, he further explained: "If we change the way we think about the world, we automatically update memories to reflect our new understanding" (p. 1120).

Though their memories of the university were overwhelmingly positive, the earlier graduates were not blind to the fact of race. They, in fact, provided some poignant examples of difficulties they had to endure. Their language in telling these stories, however, did not appear to be bitter; they did not dwell on their difficulties. They handled the difficulties and they got on with the business of obtaining the degree.

Limitations of the Findings

It is the nature of qualitative studies that the findings merely suggest trends in the phenomenon under investigation. This study suggests that race, gender, generational experiences and psychological and social issues are important factors in the experiences of Black doctoral graduates who attended a predominantly White university. It is difficult to generalize the findings presented here. It will take several studies of this type to establish the importance of particular factors with any level of certainty. Other limitations exist and are described below.

The population of this study is a self-selected group from a select population. Reported here are the experiences of advanced graduate students who completed doctoral programs. A study of other populations, for example, persons who did not complete their graduate school programs, would enhance the findings. Hence, this study does not lend itself to generalizations about all Black students in White academe. It focuses exclusively on the experiences of a specific successful population.

Though the return rate of questionnaires for this type of study was good (45 percent), given the opportunity to respond to a sensitive issue, it could be assumed that the rate of return should have been even higher. However, almost 90% of those who completed the questionnaire agreed to interviews and over half of the respondents were interviewed. The fact that a high percentage of the graduates are employed in academe and are likely inundated with professional activities, may have been a deterrent to filling out the lengthy questionnaire. At least two respondents commented on its length. Three graduates who telephoned also talked about their busy schedules and promised to complete the questionnaire, but never did.

Considerations for Higher Education

Making recommendations to the universities for improving the climate of racial acceptance would appear to be one logical outcome of this type of study. The findings, however, do not lend themselves to a neat set of recommendations. There are no programs that will change the fundamental social ills that continue to afflict society and university communities. There are no programs that can make people see what they do not wish to see, or to address problems that they do not feel are theirs to solve. Learning about the experiences of Black doctoral graduates, however, may evoke thinking about individual as well as institutional behaviors. It is important to recognize that the problem of race for the Black student in White academe is a problem for all students and professors, regardless of race.

This study revealed the tolerance of racism by Whites who witnessed it, those same Whites who sometimes talked about social justice. With one exception, Whites did not appear to take a stand and speak out against racism. After the racist actions of one White professor, for example, the inclusion of fair minded White professors in the examination and grading process kept one doctoral student from being forced out of the program. Whites who care must understand that the tolerance of racism only serves to perpetuate racism. Speaking out and, more importantly, counteracting racist acts appears to be the only way to help erode their damaging effects. These actions may force other Whites to understand how racism affects their thinking and actions.

There are other factors that the graduates revealed were important in their lives as doctoral students. Those participants who had the most positive experiences, in spite of difficulties, were those who felt a sense of belonging in their departments. This sense of belonging was facilitated by classmates, professors, and, in some cases,

staff members. It was manifest in activities, both academic and social, an openness by all to discuss shared interests, expressions of personal concern, assistance in academic and personal matters and confiding in each other. The key factor here is that these interactions were genuine. No one pretended to be something they were not or acted in some way that they thought might be appropriate to simply make another feel comfortable. There were no mandated mentor/mentee relationships. Whether this sense of belonging is realized in what one participant referred to as a "natural mentor relationship" or in other important connections in the academic community, it seems to characterize the students who had the most positive experiences .

Participants expressed a need for an outlet, a safe place, in which they could share their concerns about race related difficulties with others who understand, others who have "been there." The university has programs for minority students, mostly undergraduates. With the exception of the Black Graduate Student Association which did not consistently function over the years, there appears to be no major outlet for Black doctoral students to share their concerns and experiences. This need was expressed more frequently among the single students who were more prone to feelings of isolation. Answering this need clearly will require a larger Black population of students and professors on White campuses, a larger community in which Black students can sort out their particular difficulties among those who share the struggle.

Additional Research

While a number of studies have been conducted examining the experiences of Blacks in White academe, additional studies of Black doctoral graduates from predominantly White universities are needed to increase the depth of knowledge about this unique group of scholars in White academe. As such experiences are considered,

the number of Black students who did not complete their degrees is something about which little is known. With the attrition rates of doctoral students of all races reported at 43 percent for 10 major U.S. universities combined (Bowen and Rudenstine, 1992), it would serve the academic community well to understand why students drop out of all programs, including advanced graduate studies. A comparative study examining the experiences of Black and White graduate students who withdrew from graduate studies at predominantly White universities would certainly reveal additional issues related to doctoral study. It might then be possible to more accurately assess the function of race in such decisions. Given the influence of faculty in the lives of students, studies examining the experiences of professors with students of a different race might provide insights into the impact of race on faculty-student relations.

It appears that foreign born Black students come to the U.S. with a strong sense of self. As they indicated, nothing in their experiences in their home countries prepared them for the racism they experienced in America. Studies that examine the foreign student's experiences at predominantly White institutions in the U.S. might help to further understand what is, for many, a different experience of race.

This study identified gender differences in the experiences of Black women and men in White academe. To further understand the influence of gender and race in the experiences of Black women in White institutions, comparative studies of the experiences of Black women and White women scholars at predominantly White institutions are needed. Studies of the experiences of Black women scholars and Black male scholars employed at White colleges and universities might provide some insight into the influence of gender and race.

Given the fact that in the 1990s a higher percentage of Black men reported mixed memories of their graduate school experiences than in previous decades, studies

examining generational differences in the experiences of Black male graduate students might shed additional light on any growing difficulties.

As predominantly White colleges and universities seek to increase Black faculty, and given the fact that such a high percentage of Black doctoral holders pursued their careers at predominantly White institutions, additional studies that examine the experiences of Blacks scholars at these institutions might help institutions understand how to better retain minority faculty.

Conclusion

While this study raises unanswered questions about race in the experiences of Black doctoral graduates, it offers insights into the experiences and attitudes of a particular group of Black scholars at one White university that has attempted to create a more racially diverse campus. Despite efforts to recruit Black students, changing the mindset of those Whites resistant to the presence of Blacks on the campus was and is a problem. The participants in this study realized that there were those who were not happy about them being there. When faced by resisters, they learned to deal with them in a variety of ways.

While nearly a third of the participants reported race related difficulties, these problems did not permeate their experiences, nor did they allow difficulties to become major impediments in their pursuit of the doctorate. They were future scholars focused on learning. They sought to develop their skills as writers, researchers, educators, leaders and clinicians. Their goals were to make a difference in the quality of their lives and in the lives of others. It is clear that the doctoral graduates, by and large, recognized the importance of their undertaking to Black people, past, present

and in the future. The degree was not theirs alone. They were willing to make the sacrifices, and in some cases, perhaps, temper their egos in order to succeed.

They realized that the university is a setting in which the debate about the intellectual inferiority of their people has not disappeared. They were not moved by such debate; they believed in their abilities. As one participant stated: "They have conferred upon you the highest level of education you can get, you can't get any more than that!" They achieved their academic goals by staying focused. When asked if the struggle of getting the degree was worth it, one African graduate best captured the attitudes of the others in his response:

Yes, of course....When you finish and become successful, it's worth it. You have beaten all odds. It has shown me that I can survive in whatever environment I find myself, as long as I remained focused....racism is there, there is nothing you can do about it. Black folks have been fighting all our lives in this country, so there is nothing you can do....You have to remain focused and tell yourself, "I'm here, I plan to stay here and I will succeed!"

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Letter to professors requesting the names of doctoral graduates

DATE

NAME
ADDRESS

Dear Dr. NAME:

May I ask your help? I am a doctoral student in the University of Tennessee's College of Education conducting dissertation research under the direction of Dr. Richard Wisniewski. My study examines the experiences of African Americans who completed their doctoral degrees at NAME OF INSTITUTION between 1959, when the first doctoral degree was granted to an African American, and 1995.

If you have served on the committees of African Americans who completed their doctoral degrees during your tenure at the university, or if you know the names of any African Americans who completed their doctorates in your department or college, please list them below along with an approximate graduation date.

The university's record system does not provide information on African Americans who completed their doctorates prior to 1988. Should the degree recipients agree to participate in the study, they can provide feedback that can enhance the university's ability to respond to the needs of a diverse student population.

If there have been no African American doctoral students, or if you don't know of any who completed their doctorates in your department, check unknown. Please return this letter in the enclosed envelope. Your immediate response is greatly appreciated.

Thank you for taking the time to aid me in this research effort.

Sincerely,

Elisabeth S. Wright Harrison, Ph.D. Candidate
College of Education

Name of African American Student

Approximate Year of
Degree Completion

___ Unknown

Appendix 2
Cover Letter to Doctoral Graduates

DATE

NAME
ADDRESS

Dear NAME:

I need your help! I am conducting a study that examines the graduate school experiences of Black scholars who completed their doctoral degrees at a predominantly White American institution.

I am an African American doctoral student at the University of Tennessee completing my degree in education. The INSTITUTION'S NAME records indicate that you completed your doctorate in SUBJECT in YEAR. I am interested in understanding your experiences as a Black graduate student in a predominantly White American institution and the strategies you employed to be successful. I hope that you will share your experiences with me.

If you agree to share your experiences, please fill out the enclosed questionnaire. I am also interested in conducting follow-up interviews by phone or in person. If you are willing to provide additional information during an interview please indicate that on the questionnaire.

All information you provide will be kept confidential. The code number on the questionnaire is for keeping track of responses. No references to individuals will be made in the study. If you agree to participate in the study, please return the questionnaire by DATE. A self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

The results of the study will greatly assist other Black scholars studying at majority White institutions as well as provide ways of improving the climate of acceptance at predominantly White American institutions.

Thank you for your help!

Sincerely,

Elisabeth Wright Harrison, Ph.D. Candidate
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Appendix 3
Questionnaire Mailed to Doctoral Graduates

#_____

Black Doctoral Graduates From a Predominantly White University

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. a. ☐ Female
- b. ☐ Male
- c. In what country were you born and raised?

_____.

Your earlier educational experiences

- 2 a. At what undergraduate institution did you complete your baccalaureate degree?

b. The institution is (please check one) ☐ Predominantly Black ☐ Predominantly White.

3. How well did your undergraduate institution prepare you academically for graduate studies?

☐ Prepared me well

☐ Prepared me adequately

☐ Prepared me somewhat

☐ Did not prepare me well

4. Beyond academic preparation, in what ways did your undergraduate experiences prepare you, or fail to prepare you, for graduate school?

5 a. If applicable, at what university did you complete your master's degree?

b. The institution is (please check one)___Predominantly Black___Predominantly White.

If you went directly from a bachelor's degree to a doctoral program, check here _____, and proceed to item number 8.

6. How well did the institution at which you completed your master's degree prepare you academically for doctoral studies.

___Prepared me well

___Prepared me adequately

___Prepared me somewhat

___Did not prepare me well

7. Beyond academic preparation, in what ways did your experiences at the institution at which you completed your master's degree prepare you, or fail to prepare you, for doctoral studies?

Your experience as a doctoral student

8. When did you begin your doctoral program? 19____.
When did you complete the degree? 19____.
9. Recognizing that people begin their dissertation research process at different stages of their graduate work, how long did the dissertation process take?
 1 year or less 1 to 2 years 2 to 3 years More than 3 years
10. How was your graduate education financed? (Check all that apply.)
 Scholarships
 Graduate Assistantship
 Personal and/or Family Assistance
 Loans
 Other (please specify)_____
11. As you assess your total experiences as an advanced graduate student at the University, are your memories
 Strongly Positive
 Mainly Positive
 Mixed
 Negative
 Strongly Negative
12. Over the past 25 years, predominantly White colleges and universities have instituted programs directed at minority populations. Many were designed to increase minority enrollments and retention and to create better climates of acceptance.
- a. Were you aware of policies addressing minority issues while you attended the University as a doctoral student? Please check one:
 Yes
 No
 Such policies did not exist when I was a student.

b. If you were aware of university policies relative to minority issues, how successful was the university in enforcing the policies by implementing programs to promote diversity?

☐ Some effective programs and procedures were developed and implemented.

☐ The university made a modest attempt to implement and enforce the written policies.

☐ Programs and/or procedures were in place but were short term and/or ineffective.

The university made no attempt to implement and enforce the written policies.

c. Briefly identify one or more such programs or procedures.

13 a. As you consider your experiences as a Black student at a predominantly White institution, how would you rate the general climate of racial acceptance at the University during your years as a graduate student?

☐ A very accepting climate

☐ Somewhat accepting

☐ Not very accepting

☐ Hostile

Comments

b. How would you rate the climate of racial acceptance in your specific program or department during your years as a graduate student?

☐ A very accepting climate

☐ Somewhat accepting

☐ Not very accepting

☐ Hostile

Comments _____

14. We recognize that difficulties often arise during the advanced degree process. We are interested in understanding whether any difficult times you may have experienced were influenced by race, or were the type of difficulties encountered by all doctoral students regardless of race.

a. Did you have any particularly difficult times in your program or department? If so, please give one or more examples.

b. If you experienced difficulties in your department or program, was race an influencing factor? Please discuss.

c. Did you experience difficulties with any of the other offices, programs or organizations at the university ? If so, please give one or more examples.

d. If you experienced any difficulties with any of the other offices, programs or organizations at the university, was race an influencing factor? Please discuss.

15. The literature that examines the graduate school experience speaks to the high drop-out rates among graduate students, in particular among some minority groups. As you reflect on your graduate school experiences and consider the race-related difficulties you may have experienced, what did you do to stay on course and to complete your doctoral degree?

16. In what ways did your doctoral experience prepare you, or fail to prepare you, for your career?

17. What additional comments would you like to make regarding your graduate experience at the University?

Your professional experiences

18. What best describes your postgraduate professional activities during the first year after you received your doctoral degree?

_____ Postdoctoral fellowship or research associateship

_____ Teaching _____ Administration

Please check one of the following:

_____ Elementary

_____ Secondary

_____ Junior or Community College

_____ 4 Year College or University

_____ Military Service

_____ Employment in Industry or Business

_____ Other (please specify) _____

19. Since completing your degree, have you made any major career changes? If so, please explain.

20. Present Employment_____

21. Job Responsibilities_____

22a. If you currently hold a position at a college or university, is the institution
(please check one)

_____predominantly Black?

_____predominantly White?

b. Academic Rank (if applicable).

____Instructor

____Assistant Professor

____Associate Professor

____Full Professor

____Tenured

This research will be greatly enhanced if you are willing to be contacted for a phone or personal interview to give you an opportunity to discuss your experiences more fully. All information provided during the interview will be treated as confidential information.

If you are willing to be contacted, please provide the following information.

____You may contact me at _____(Phone No.) to discuss my responses or to arrange for an interview.

____I will be unable to schedule a follow up interview.

Date

Appendix 4
Follow-up Letter to Doctoral Graduates

*******REMINDER*******

DATE:

TO: Dr. NAME

FROM: Elisabeth Wright Harrison, Ph.D. Candidate
University of Tennessee, Phone Number

RE: Questionnaire for the study: "Black Doctoral Graduates From a
Predominantly White University"

Just a note to remind you that I am looking forward to reviewing your responses on the questionnaire I mailed to you in MONTH. I realize that you probably have a busy schedule and that completing the questionnaire is yet another thing to do, but your feedback is important.

Thank you for your prompt response.

Appendix 5

Letter and Return Postcard Inviting Graduates to be Interviewed

DATE

NAME
ADDRESS

Dear Dr. NAME:

Thank you for completing the questionnaire I mailed to you earlier this year. My study, which examines the experiences of Black doctoral graduates who attended a predominantly White university, is in its final stages.

You indicated on the questionnaire that you are willing to be interviewed. I have thus far conducted 42 interviews. While this is a sufficient number of interviews for the study, I am still interested in your feedback. If you would still like to be interviewed, please return the enclosed self-addressed post card no later than DATE, and I will call you at the number listed on the questionnaire.

Thank you very much for your contribution to this research.

Sincerely,

Elisabeth S.W. Harrison
PHONE NUMBER

Black Doctoral Graduates From a Predominantly White University

Please contact me to schedule an interview

Name _____

Please Print

Appendix 6
Cover Letter that Accompanied Transcript

DATE

NAME
ADDRESS

Dear Dr. NAME:

Thank you for granting me an interview on DATE. Attached is a copy of the informed consent form for your records and a copy of the transcript of our conversation. Please review the transcript to ensure that what is written accurately reflects your thoughts and feelings. Please make changes as needed. Remember that your responses will be kept confidential. Please mail or fax your revisions to me by DATE, if possible. My fax number is (000) 000-0000. I have also enclosed a self-addressed stamped envelope for your convenience.

Thank you for your time and effort. Your contribution is invaluable to this study.

Sincerely,

Elisabeth Harrison
Phone Number

Appendix 7

Informed Consent Form Mailed with Transcript

Black Doctoral Graduates From a Predominantly White University

Informed Consent Form

You have been invited to participate in a study that examines the experiences of Black scholars at predominantly White colleges and universities. You will be asked to share your experiences as a Black doctoral student in White academe. The interview will last approximately one-hour and will be audio taped, with your permission. The audio recording will ensure an accurate representation of your experiences.

All tapes and consent forms will be kept in a locked storage cabinet in the office of the principal investigator, Elisabeth Harrison, who is the only one who will have access to them. These tapes will be kept confidential and will be destroyed after five years. Data will be used for interpretive purposes only and will be disseminated in the form of a dissertation. At a later date the investigator will explore the possibility of publishing the findings in the form of a journal article. No references to participants' names or institutions will be made.

Your participation in this interview is voluntary. You may stop at any time without penalty. The benefits to you include the opportunity to reflect on your experiences as a Black scholar in predominantly White institution of higher education. In addition, you may feel personally satisfied in knowing that sharing your experiences will add to an important body of knowledge that seeks to understand the Black experience in a predominantly White culture.

There are no anticipated risks to participants in this study. Should you become uncomfortable at any time with the study, you may stop the interview and are free to withdraw from the study.

I agree to participate in this project as it has been described. If I have further questions about the study or about my participation in it, I realize that I can call or write Elisabeth Harrison at 000-000-0000 : ADDRESS

Signature

Date

Appendix 8
Sample Transcript

Black Doctoral Graduates From a Predominantly White University

Interview

Researcher: One of the questions asked about your undergraduate training at the predominantly White institution you attended. You wrote that the university prepared you very well academically, and you also identified other ways that your undergraduate experience prepared you. You wrote that the university prepared you for graduate school by giving you "an intense hunger and thirst for more knowledge." I wonder if you can talk a little more about that? What aspect of your undergraduate training created this feeling?

Doctoral Graduate: *Just a little background. At the time I went to the university as an undergraduate student, I was the first in my family to go to college. During my first couple of years there I was in a state of awe, because I had made it to the university. When I was in high school, at best, I was an average student. I had the notion that the only way anyone could ever attend a college or university was if they were a straight A student and were in the top 2% of their high school class. When I came to the university, I came wanting to be a part of the college experience, but I came with a sense of fear and trepidation, because I felt initially that I did not have the academic background to make it in college. I can distinctly remember my first quarter in summer school, I studied with a sense of fear for every class. I was amazed at the end of that first quarter, I had five classes and I made four As and a B. I remember sitting there thinking, "I can make it here." I attribute a lot of that to (not just the first quarter, but during my couple of years at the university) at least two instructors who had a tremendous impact on me. There was a woman instructor who I had for freshman English, and the other was a gentleman I had for Black history. Both of these instructors were hard, demanding, hard, so much so that people were dropping their classes left and right. For some reason it was a challenge to me. The woman who I had for freshman English, we referred to in class as captain [surname] behind her back. She showed me that I could write. I remember the first paper that I wrote and presented to her, she demanded that I go to the writing lab. That was just an insult to me, but she sat me down and told me that I had the skill, the ability to be a very, very good college student. She said, "I am not going to make any short cuts for you.*

Whatever you get at this university, you will get because you earned it. Never let anyone tell you that you can't succeed in any course, I don't care what the course is. You may not have the skills, and you might eventually come to the determination that you can't do it, but you never allow anyone else, instructor or professor, never allow anyone else to tell you that you can't succeed in a course. That is not their call, that is your call. How bad do you want it?" My feelings for her went from being one of being fearful of her to one of being angry at her for insisting that I go to the writing lab, and then one of total admiration, because she saw something in me at the time that I didn't even see. That served as a spark. I learned to write, I learned the very basics of writing under her, also this whole aspect of writing from a creative standpoint. She planted the seed and what I received from her was further enhanced in a course I had in Black history. But the seed was really planted by the English instructor. Bless her heart, she was hard, but to this day I remember the class and it was one of the best classes I have ever had. It was one of the hardest classes. It was such a feeling of accomplishment to come out of that class to know that you passed the class and passed it with an A. She made a point at the beginning of the class, she said "I very rarely give out As; if you get one you will know that you've earned it." I was one of three students in that class to receive an A. I wasn't an English major and English was an area where I really had to work. She made class not so much of something you had to do; it was an adventure. That class served to inspire me, to convince me, that I could make it in a university setting. That planted the seed for me wanting to go on to graduate school. My only intention was to pass classes. We were on the quarter system at the time and I would think "If I could make it through this quarter," I wasn't even looking to the next year and the next year and then graduation, it was a quarter-by-quarter thing. She planted that seed that helped me to realize that the undergraduate degree was only the starting point for me. She developed in me a hunger and thirst. From that course I went into every other course thinking that this is a new adventure for me, "I don't know a whole lot about these courses, but by the end of this quarter I will know more than I know right now." She established that in me. I don't know where she is, but it is a tribute to her.

Researcher: Was she a White instructor?

Doctoral Graduate: *Yes. I remember I had her twice for different courses in English. During the second course, I was out a couple of days with the flu, I remember she called me at home just to see how I was doing. I don't know why, I had two of my instructors in my years at the university in both undergraduate and graduate programs to call me at home to check on me. She was one, another professor that I had, is still at the university right now, called me. He is from a different state and he called me when we were on Christmas break. It was during one of those periods in the doctoral program when you go through trials and you are just about ready to give up, I guess I was acting like I was about ready to forget it, and he knew. He called me during Christmas break from his home in another state and talked to me for about three hours on the telephone. He encouraged me to stay in the program. They are the only two instructors who had ever called me. They called me to let me know that they were interested in me, they wanted to see how I was doing, and they wanted to encourage me. I had said nothing to that professor about dropping out of the doctoral program. I guess he saw that look in my eye! You know you go through what seems like an endless struggle and he called and really inspired me to stay in the program. He told me, "You're not doing it for yourself, you're doing it for some of the other Black students who will come after you." He said "whether you believe it or not, you and the few Black students that are in doctoral programs are role models. You may not want to be, but you don't have a choice. You owe it not only to yourself but to the other students who need to see Black students successfully matriculating through doctoral programs." You know, when I was pursuing my doctorate, until that phone conversation I had with that professor, it was basically a selfish thing. But that phone call that night, I never will forget it, was about three hours. He talked about his experiences, the problems that he went through, and a lot of the insults he had to endure. His point was, "I am not trying to put you down, but I just want you to know that I blazed a trail and in a sense you and every other Black doctoral student are blazing trails. The problem that we have right now in higher education is that the number of Blacks students in any doctoral program is a minuscule fraction of what the number ought to be." He said, "It is going to take people like you to help lay the trail and let other students know and to encourage other students that it can be done." I had some very good professors in my graduate program, but that phone call from him was the key in encouraging me to stay in the program and not give up.*

Researcher: Yes, and that is important. You are a first generation college graduate. I want to know what your family's feelings and response were when you let them know or when they found out that you had the opportunity to attend college?

Doctoral Graduate: *Well, at the time, I was a sophomore in high school and we lived out in the country and my two older brothers were in high school, they were two years ahead of me. We were the first Blacks to integrate this high school, and the first year was brutal, I mean, I grew up in a sheltered environment. We went to a predominantly Black elementary school; it was right down the road from our house. The community we grew up in was a sheltered community where you knew everybody. I remember my first day in high school, it was brutal. I didn't know people could be so vicious, people who didn't even know me. It was brutal the first half of my freshman year in high school. Right after Christmas vacation it seemed like someone flipped a switch, and really there were no problems from that point on. It was about the start of my sophomore year during the summer vacation, I was outside in the yard and for some reason I can remember walking the yard and it just dawned on me, "I'm going to college, I want to go to college." Nothing happened, there was no dramatic event, nothing had happened to anybody in my family. From that point on I can remember telling my mother and father, "I want to go to college." And their response was "Yeah, that's nice." You have to understand, I have ten brothers and sisters so it was like, "Well, I'm glad he's not out doing anything crazy." From my sophomore year on, I had it in my mind that I was going to college. I had no idea what I was going to do once I got there, but I definitely knew that I wanted to go to college. My father died right after I graduated from high school. So he never saw me actually get into college. My mother was working at the time, and I remember when I enrolled in the university and I got accepted, I was so ecstatic. I never thought about how I was going to pay for it. I can remember going over to the university the first time at the beginning of the fall quarter with two of my friends with whom I went to high school. We all got accepted and went over together. I can remember we went to the classes, and I can remember we went to registration and everything. They had freshman orientation, and we went to orientation. For some reason I thought they gave you books in class. I remember going to my class the very first time and noticing that everyone had books except me. I asked around and found out I had to go to the bookstore. I went to the bookstore and I remember looking at the price of books, and*

I thought, "I can't afford that!" My mother gave me the money, she asked me how much my books were going to cost. She gave me money to pay for all the books the first quarter and she also paid for my tuition the first quarter. I remember she went over to the bursar's office with me. I will never forget, on our way back she said, "This is all I'm able to do." She said, "Now, if you're going to stay in school from this point on, if you want it bad enough you are going to have to get a job." My mother said something that amazed me. My mother at that time had dropped out of high school, she eventually did go back and get her high school diploma and then went back and did some college work. At that time I didn't think my mother knew what a scholarship was. She said, "You are going to either have to get a scholarship or get a job." I said, "scholarship? I barely made it out of high school." It was my first quarter at the university when she told me that. I really wanted to stay, I really wanted to be there. I was able to make those four A's and a B, and I was awarded a scholarship after my first quarter. From that point on it was a case of either do scholarship or a part-time job. My mother was supportive from that standpoint; we were a very poor family, and I still had younger brothers and sisters who were in elementary school and high school at the time. My father had already passed away, so I knew she couldn't afford it. But she came over and paid for my fees that first quarter and she purchased all of my books. I remember her saying, "I won't be able to help you like this any more." I felt ashamed that she had to take money from my younger brothers and sisters to do it. I began to ask myself "How bad do you want it?" I did find out that there were scholarships available and there were part-time jobs. Through that, I was able to finance my education.

Researcher: It is amazing when we consider the experiences we have all gone through to travel this road.

Doctoral Graduate: *I remember times that I walked, when I didn't have a car or something had happened to the car. During the winter a friend and I would catch the bus and walk to campus. I can remember going into the student center just trying to thaw out before I went to classes. You know, to me those were great experiences, because it showed me that if you want things, I don't care, I don't care what obstacles are placed in front of you, you can accomplish those things. It's just a case of how bad you want it. The doctoral program, for me, was one of the most humbling*

processes that I ever went through. It showed how much I didn't know. It showed me that there are hoops that you must go through and it takes perseverance. I assumed that if I had the intelligence and the book knowledge that that was all the doctoral program entailed. How sadly mistaken I was. I got a firm understanding of what commitment and perseverance is all about. That is how I characterize the doctoral program, how committed you are and how much you can persevere. Two of my friends received their doctorates from another predominantly White university. I can remember when they were going through the program there and the things that they went through. Every doctoral student will tell you the same thing, it is a humbling process and you'd better want it. It is a big sacrifice. I have never since then made any sacrifices as great as the one that I made when I decided to embark on that doctoral program. I am glad I did it. It helped me as a person. I'm extremely glad that I did what I did because it was a learning experience in more ways than one. I'm very thankful to the Lord that I was able to make it through the process, that He allowed me to make it through the process.

Researcher: You talked a bit about your department head. You mentioned that he did things to ensure that the racial climate was an accepting one in your department. I would like for you to talk more about that.

Doctoral Graduate: *I changed my major focus in my doctoral program, and there was a professor in the college that I went to talk to for advice and consultation. Though others spoke well of him, that was the first time I ran across a professor at the university who came across as being extremely racist. He was condescending to me. He assumed I was there for a handout, he made generalizations about me as a "typical Black student." I never will forget, I told the guy, "You know, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. You are supposed to be a professor here, I didn't come with a hand out, I came simply for some consultation and advice and you're here doing what I think so many other people do." It shouldn't have surprised me that this was happening in a university climate, but this was a professor who supposedly was fair minded to all students. The things he said to me came across as extremely racist, came across as extremely condescending and I told the guy, "You know, this probably means that I will never get my doctorate from this university, or from this department, or this college." I told him, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself that you don't see*

me as a student, you see me as someone who is Black, who is trying to get a handout. I didn't come asking any special favors from you. You are supposed to, in this job, offer consultation and advice." He made the statement "You will never get your doctorate from this university, because you don't have the skills to do it." He said "You have played around." I told him "You know nothing about me, you know nothing about what I have gone through." I came away bitter. I walked out of his office. I figured that since this guy is a professor, he is going to get the word around if I try to come back in this college, I am dead. I ran into another White professor at a meeting or a seminar. He had heard about my run-in with this guy, and he said, "Can I meet with you." He took me to lunch, and he said, "I'm not going to apologize because that guy that you talked to, he is a real [horse's rear]. I don't want you to think that he is typical of the professors in this college. I hope you don't mind, I got a copy of your transcripts. I would like to talk to you and try to convince you to switch your major or to switch your area of focus, and come into my department. I really believe that you have got the skills. You can get what you want, I assume that you want the doctorate." We talked about the job and career market and everything.

Researcher: Where were you at this point? Were you at the master's?

Doctoral Graduate: *I had just started. I was in the doctoral program but my first major professor had left the university. He had taken a position at another university. He wrote me letters, he called me, he tried to get me to transfer to that university. He told me, "They have a program down here, you can come down here one weekend during the month." He did what he could do. He sent me papers, he helped me with the financing, he wanted me to finish my degree at the university that he moved to. If things had been a little different, I probably would have, because he had enough concern. He was my major professor and he said, "I don't want to leave you high and dry. I've got a commitment to you." I was really appreciative of that. I did not know the professor who later approached me, I had never had a course under him. He heard about what had happened, and he called me. We had a conversation over lunch, and I told him to let me think about it. I thought about it over a couple of weeks, I called him back and told him that I would like to pursue it. He set up a meeting that included himself, me, and four other professors in that department. He said, "Let's talk about*

what your plans and expectations are career-wise and academically." We had a three hour session in his office with these other professors who I didn't know. From that point on he worked with me in graduate school to get my paperwork taken care of and helped me to avoid all the political pitfalls (that I knew nothing about) that exist in a university climate. He served as a traffic cop for me, he served as a mentor for me. He guided me around the pitfalls, he was very, very good at that. Let me tell you, he was hard. He did not cut me any slack for me. He demanded that I take the hardest classes, he demanded that I do what I thought was an inordinate amount of extra work. He lengthened my doctoral program, I think, by several years, but, I am glad he did it. After everything is all said and done, I would not have want to have done it any other way.

Researcher: What do you think his motivation was?

Doctoral Graduate: *I don't know. When he first approached me I felt that it was because they needed Black folks in the program, and they might have. I assume every program needed Blacks. They don't have enough Black doctoral students in any of the programs over there. As I got a chance to know him he did things that he didn't have to do. He did not make any special dispensation for me, he did not cut me any slack. He guided me through a lot of things that I was not aware of that existed in the university community. For example, when we were putting together my doctoral committee, there were guys on my committee who didn't like each other. Guess who became the lighting rod for all of their frustration and anger; I did. I found out that when I had meetings one of these guys would praise me for something I was doing, the other guy would criticize me and vice-versa. I found out that it wasn't me, they simply disliked each other. He was very good at basically taking care of that. I don't know what he did, I don't know how it was done, but he was able to remove me from that situation. Going back to why he did what he did, I really don't know. I view him today as a friend and as a colleague. I respect him. I told him, "One of your biggest problems is that you need to control your mouth and control your temper." I can tell him that now. It is not that I like everything about him. I'm sure he doesn't like everything about me, but I respect him as a professor and I respect him as a colleague and a friend. Though I didn't know what his motives were at the time, I am convinced that his motives were sincere because he saw me through to the end. He was very,*

very, very instrumental in shepherding me through that program. I even acknowledge that in my dissertation. I referred to him as a professor, a colleague and a friend, I don't know how other major professors handle their students, but in my estimation, he did everything right.

Researcher: I guess we have to consider the human aspect of this process. You spend years with a person and you find yourself being fond of them. That is just that human element that enters in many relationships. Tell me, what were your relationships like with other students?

Doctoral Graduate: *Since I was working full time, I really didn't get a chance to spend much time on campus. I only saw the other students when I had class or we were working on special projects. I really didn't get a chance to spend that much time as a doctoral student. My doctoral program literally stretched over years. Students came and went, and I really didn't get a chance to build close relationships with other students. I spent most of my time working full time. When I was not working I spent most of my time in the library.*

Researcher: In your response to the question, "What did you do to stay on course to complete the degree?" you wrote, "Trust and faith in God, a supportive and encouraging wife, and a very supportive employer." I would like for you to talk a little bit more about these.

Doctoral Graduate: *When I made up my mind to pursue the doctorate it was basically for selfish reasons. I remember that there were several instances when I wanted to drop out of the program. I really believe in God, I believe that everything that I have comes from God, everything that I have belongs to him including my life and my wife and my sons, and I prayed and I asked God, "If it is your will that I get this doctorate would you please allow me to get it. But, if you don't want me to get it, would you shut every door, close every avenue off so that there is no doubt in my mind that you don't want me to get it," because I went through several periods in which I questioned whether or not I really wanted the degree, and it was just a struggle. I would say that I am going to drop out of the program, and I would stay*

away from the university for a couple of weeks. It seemed like something inside would just start burning and telling me, "You have an opportunity here." My father didn't graduate from high school. He worked for the railroad for over forty years before he died. He told all of his kids "One thing I want you to do, get as much education as you can, while you can. They can take away a lot of things from you but they can never take away your education." He never graduated from high school. He never said to go to college he just said "Get as much education as you can while you can. No one can ever take that away from you." That was in the back of my mind, and I asked God to show me. "If you want me to get it let me get it." I didn't say make it easy, I just said "If it is in your will, let me get it." He opened the doors, he also gave me a beautiful wife, who encouraged me, who I think I short-changed because I spent so much time at the library and didn't spend a lot of time with her. We had two young sons, and basically she took the lead in taking care of them. She would encourage me by telling me "Look, you need to go ahead and do whatever is necessary and finish this degree. Look, I'm tired of this. I have as much invested in this as you do." The times when I was disgusted and fed up she would say, "Look, you need to go to the library, you need to get this thing done." I would tell her, "Well, there is this thing going on at school with the PTA," she would tell me, "Don't worry about it, I will handle it. You go on and get the degree." Having God to give me somebody like her, having her to be there to encourage me and then having a job where I had a supervisor (who is now dead and gone) who was a mentor. He mentored me on this job. He had a doctorate. He pushed me. He gave me difficult assignments, he kept coming back, he would ask me, "How are you doing in school? What courses are you taking?" He knew a lot of the professors in the department over there, and he would continually ask about the courses I was taking. He would suggest courses that he knew would help me in my career. He made provisions for me to maintain a flexible work schedule. He was the ultimate, in my mind, in terms of being a good mentor on the job. He pushed me incessantly. So, I had two mentors one in the professional arena encouraging me to get the degree, and the other, my major advisor who was pushing me from the standpoint of the university. I consider myself very blessed. I asked the Lord to make it possible. He brought those people into my life and enabled it to become a reality.

Researcher: It's something when those doors open up like that.

Doctoral Graduate: *They only opened because God opened them. There were so many doors that could have been shut on me, but he heard and answered my prayer. I am not ashamed to let anyone know. I praise God. It was only because of God that I received the degree.*

Researcher: Was the supervisor a White person?

Doctoral Graduate: *Yes, he was. He died about ten years ago. He was a great manager, he knew how to manage. Once again, just like my major advisor, he gave me some of the most brutal assignments that I have ever had. Then at times I thought he was setting me up, but it was all part of a learning experience. What managerial skills I possess now, I attribute to him. He set up a rotational assignment on the job where I spent time working not only with him but also with the general counsel, engineering and design, personnel and labor relations. He did this because of the contact he had with those managers. All of that fed into helping me to be the manager that I am right now.*

Researcher: This has been great, It has been a wonderful interview. You have had some wonderful mentors in your experiences both at work and at the university.

Vita

Elisabeth Sindy Wright Harrison was born in 1958 in Chicago, Illinois. Having attended both primary and secondary schools in the Chicago public school system, she completed her bachelor's degree in Consumer and Family Sciences at Purdue University in 1980. After working nine years in the fashion retail industry in Chicago, she moved to Knoxville, Tennessee in 1989 to pursue an advanced degree at the University of Tennessee. Elisabeth completed her master's in Adult Education in 1991 and her Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction in 1996.

Elisabeth is the daughter of William and Early Wright and sister to Raymond, Maurice, Edward and Jaimie. She is married to Olakunle Harrison, a Nigerian who is also a UT doctoral graduate.